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Hic Liber cui Titulus (*The Project of Peace, &c.*)

June 12. 1678.

Guill. Sill, R. P. D. Henr. Epiſc. Lond. à Sac. Dom.

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THE Project of Peace, OR, UNITY of FAITH AND GOVERNMENT, The only Expedient to Procure PEACE, BOTH Foreign and Domestique: AND To PRESERVE these NATIONS From the DANGER OF *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Tyranny*.

By the Author of the Countermine.

Is there no Balm in *Gilead*? No Phylician there?

Si penés singulos Jus & Arbitrium erit Judicandi, nihil certi constitui poterit: quin potius vacillabit tota Religio. Cal. Inst.

London: Printed for *Jonathan Edwin*, at the Sign of the Three Roses in *Ludgate-street*. 1678.

TO THE DISSENTERS FROM THE Church of *ENGLAND*, OF WHAT NAMES or DISTINCTIONS SOEVER.

AS it is very Poſſible, that nothing will be leſs Welcome to you than theſe *Papers*, ſo contrary both to your *Inclinations*, and what you believe your *Intereſt*: So, it may be, nothing is leſs cuſtomary than *Dedications* of this *Nature*. But ſince I neither propoſe to my ſelf the *Hopes* of any *Patrons Beneficence*, nor can ſubmit to ſuch unmanly *Complyances*, as are uſually the Effects of ſuch *Hopes* and *Expectations*; I have rather choſen to *Addreſs* my ſelf to you; where even the *Hope* of a Charitable Reception is ſcarcely to be ho-

ped for, as the *Reward* of my *Charity*: And where the *Flattery* of Swelling *Hyperboles* would prove as false, and unsuccessful to me, as to Millions, who have made large promises to themselves of *Recompences* and *Gratifications*, for that Genteler way of *Begging*: And of all the *World*, it would be most Pernicious to *You*, who have been too long accustomed to your own, and the dangerous *Flatteries* of your *Party*.

There is nothing that is at all times more Welcome to the *World*, than *Peace*. *Pacem te poscimus Omnes*. But most Men would be *Conquerors*, and oblige the *World* by giving it upon their own *Terms*: And there are but few who will be content to receive it as *Christians*, upon God's *Terms* and Conditions. Here I have endeavoured to Manifest the true *Foundations* of a solid and a lasting *Peace*: Which are *Faith*, *Unity*, *Government*, and *Obedience* to the Laws of *God* and Men. A *Peace* capable of rendring the

the *Univerſe* Happy; and any particular *Society* of Men proſperous here, and Glorious hereafter in the Peaceful *Regions* of *Joy* and *Immortality.*

I am not ignorant of your *Plea* of *Zeal* and Sufferings. But muſt the *Church* of *England* be allowed nothing for hers? Has not *She*, by your means, been forced to drink the very dregs of your *Animoſity*; whileſt like the Children of *Edom*, in the day of her Calamity, You cryed, *Down with her, Down with her even to the ground?* Did you ever ſuffer ſuch *Perſecution* from *Her*, as *She* has ſuffered from you? Whoſe *Zeal* therefore or *Afflictions* muſt intitle them to the *Character* of the truer *Church?* Would you Eſtabliſh the Worſhip of *God* in Spirit and in Truth? So would *She*, only with this Difference, that what you would effect by the Rude *Method* of Force and Violence, the *Power* of the *Sword*; *She* labours *Pſal.* 137. 8.

to do by the *Power* of Perſwaſion, and the *Spirit* of Meekneſs; as her Treatment of you now *She* is in *Power*, ſo far from *Retaliation*, or *Revenge*, does abundantly teſtifie, to the Shame of your former *Cruelty*, and preſent *Obſtinacy*, and endeavours to compaſs and effect her *Ruine*. Is *She* therefore *Criminal* for endeavouring that *Lawfully*, which you would, and do, and as you perſwade the World, are bound in *Conſcience* to do, *Per fas & Nefas*, either Lawfully, or Unlawfully, it matters not? is not the ſame Obligation of *Conſcience*, and far greater and a truer *Conſcience* upon her? And if one muſt be ſatisfied, whoſe rather, *Hers* which is *True* and properly *Conſcience*, or yours, which is only your *Private*, and uncertain *Opinion*, clothed with that *Venerable Name*? Your *Way* of Eſtabliſhing this *Worſhip* has been notoriouſly guilty of *Rebellion*, *Diſorders*, *Confuſion*, and many Evil Works. The *Civil State* of

of Affairs has been ruin'd and overturn'd; Houſes have been made *Deſolate*, and left without Inhabitant; *Churches* have been robbed, defaced, abuſed, demoliſhed; *Holy* things ſet apart and dedicated to the Service of *God*, and ſo made *Holy*, have been prophaned. The *Church of England* is innocent of any ſuch *Crimes*: The infamous *Brand* of Rebellion, Sedition, Tumults, Sacriledg, or Rapine, were never burnt upon her hand: She indeavours to prevent this for the *Preſent* and the *Future*, by teaching all men their juſt *Duty* towards *God* and towards Man, and obliges them to the Performance of it: You call this *Perſecution*, and Hate her for it. *This may be Zeal in you, but it is not according to the knowledg of God.*

She impoſes ſome *Methods* and certain *Directions*, in their own *Nature* confeſſedly indifferent, only in order, and with no other *Deſign* than for *Decency*, avoiding *Confuſion*, and

to

to bring all Christians *to maintain the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.* You refuse these *Means*, and therefore the Great End of *Christian Religion*, and *Religion* it self. You prefer your own *Way* and *Means* before *Hers*; and by Obstructing *Peace*, pretend that her *Impositions* are inconducive to those Excellent *Ends*; when as in Truth, it is not their want of Efficacious aptness, but your want of *Will*, and your traversing them, by an obstinate *Disobedience*, that frustrates their desired *Effects*.

You quarrel her *Commands*, and call them *Traditions* of Men, and *Will-Worship*; when in reality yours is so: And it is perfectly, because you are not permitted to have your own *Wills* in the *Worship* of *God*, that makes you Accuse Her of what you are most horribly guilty of your selves. *She* appoints nothing but what is agreeable to the *Will* and *Word* of *God*, and the *Primitive* Usage of the *Church:* You term those

thoſe *Determinations*, *Antichriſtian*, *Popiſh*, *Superſtitious*; As if *God Almighty*, whoſe Word and Rules She follows, where he does not pleaſe your *Humour*, or ſuit your *Intereſt*, or *Deſigns*, were Popiſhly inclined; As if the *Scriptures* in declaring for *Epiſcopacy*, were *Antichriſtian*; As if the beſt and pureſt Ages of the Church, and the whole Succeſſion of Saints and *Martyrs* were Superſtitious; Becauſe many of them *Biſhops*, and all of them Worſhipping *God*, at leaſt as to the *Main*, according to Her Way and Method. Whereas, it is you that are *Popiſh*, while you endeavour to Obtrude upon us your own *Infallibility*; It is you who are *Antichriſtian*, who ruine the Foundation of all *Chriſtianity*, Faith, Government, a *Catholique Church*, Obedience, Charity, and Unity; It is you who are *Superſtitious*, (if δεισιδαιμονία, a needleſs Fear of any thing in *Religion*, be *Superſtition*,) whileſt you ſtart

at

at an Innocent *Rite*, as if it were a *Goblin*; And for fear of a *Ceremony*, run from the *Church*, as if it were hanted with Evil *Spirits*: And though you ſtrain as if you were afraid of being Choak't at theſe *Gnats*, yet you can ſwallow the *Camel* of plain and bare-fac't Diſobedience; That goes ſmoothly over your *Palate*, being gilded over with the Title of *Religion*. You call *Rebellion*, *Reformation*; Schiſm, and Separation, Godlineſs; Diviſion from the *Church*, Communion, and Union with *God*. You put Darkneſs for Light, and Worſhip the blackeſt *Crimes*, and Vices, in the habit of *Vertue*, Piety, and true Religon.

Thus, whileſt you ſpie the *Moat* in your *Mothers* Eyes, and would pull that and them too out, to make her ſee clearly, you never conſider the *Beam* that is in your own: And whileſt you Vehemently accuſe others of Worſhipping *God* in

in vain, according to the *Traditions* of Men, you never regard how you make *the Commandments of God of no Effect by your Traditions.* Matt. 15. 6. *God* ſays, *Honour the King*, and *thou ſhalt not ſpeak Evil of the Ruler of thy People*; *Obey Magiſtrates*, &c. Your *Traditions* ſay, Diſhonour him by Diſobedience; Inſinuate *Jealouſies* and evil Surmiſings concerning him and his *Government*. Your *Actions* are a thouſand Tongues, and every Tongue a *Trumpet* to Proclaim your thoughts. And however with your *Lips* you may pretend to honour the *King*, and with your *Mouths* to draw near to *God*, your *Heart* is, in reality, far from both: Your *Will* is your *God*, the *Idol* of your *Heart*, which you ſet up and Worſhip.

For what, I pray, is your way of Worſhip, but *Tradition* from the *Heads* of your *Party*? Is there ever a Word in *Scripture* for your long

Extem-

Extempore Prayers, full, not of *Tolerabiles ineptiæ*, with which *Calvin* charges our *Liturgy*, but of Intollerable Tautologies, vain Repetitions, raſh Expreſſions, and indigeſted Matter? Chriſt is Poſitive againſt them; Uſe them not, ſays he, as the *Heathens*, who think to be heard for their πολυλογία, their much ſpeaking. The *Wiſe King*, who had Survey'd all the Vanities of the *World*, makes this not only a Vanity, but a dangerous Raſhneſs, and a Sacrifice of *Fools*. And yet you uſe it, commend and applaud it, as the only way pleaſing and acceptable to *God*.

Eccl. 5. 1, 2.

Is the Scripture clear, that there ought to be no *Biſhops* in the *Church*? Or that *Lay-Elders*, who underſtand neither Senſe, nor it may be *Engliſh*, and in ſome places, who cannot write their *Name*, ſhould yet be impowered to *Define* and *Determine* in Matters of *Faith*? Are you any where forbidden to wear a *Surplice*; or to uſe the *Sign* of the *Croſs*; or to bury

bury *Chriſtians* in hope of *Charity*, and Reſurrection to *Eternal* Life? Or to pray in ſet and appointed Words, which is true praying by the *Spirit*, when we pray with underſtanding alſo, knowing what will be ſaid? If theſe be not *Gods* Commands or Prohibitions, they are Yours; and if they are not in *Scripture*, as I am ſure they are not, they are not only the Commandments and *Traditions* of Men; but of Men, who have no Power to Command, or Impoſe the moſt indifferent thing. And yet you perſwade all Men, every where, that they owe *Obedience* to theſe; forgetting that *God* is to be Obeyed rather than Men; and that he commands you to *Obey* thoſe that have the *Rule* over you.

If you will be Followers of *God* as Dear Children, you muſt, if it be poſſible, and as much as in you lies, be Followers of *Peace* with all Men; much more with your Superiors, both in Church and State:

State: But this is very poſſible for you to do. And that it is not only Poſſible, but Honeſt, and Neceſſary, and your *Duty*, the Enſuing *Papers* will plainly inform you: To them therefore I refer you; they were deſigned for you; And if you will Eſteem me your *Enemy*, becauſe I tell you the *Truth* without *Flattery*, *Intereſt*, or *Partiality*, yet I had rather be ſo Eſteemed, than be ſo in *Reality*; by Skinning over your Feſtred *Gangreen* with words ſmooth as Oyl; Whereas in Truth it ought to be laid open, to prevent the further Eating of the *Canker*. And this is the only way that I know, to approve my ſelf to be,

Your moſt Affectionate

And real Friend.

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The Project of PEACE.

Chap. I.

The INTRODUCTION.

THEY must certainly have little good *Nature*, and far less Christian *Charity*, who are not most sensibly afflicted for the miserable Distractions, the deplorable Differences, and unnatural Divisions which are among those who profess the glorious Religion of *Christ Jesus*: That Heart must be more flinty than a *Stoick's*, which does not bleed it self; and supply the Eyes with Tears, whilst *Christians* (who by the Command of their Great but Meek and Tender *Lord*, ought to be harmless as *Doves*, and innocent as *Lambs*) are transformed by prepostrous *Zeal*, and pious Pretences, into *Wolves* and *Tygres*; and with a fierce and savage fury, mutually Worry and Devour one another: nay, even exceed the madness of those Brutes, and devest themselves of all *Humanity*, to put on this new Nature (as they term it)

of Religion. For, *Sævis inter se convenit Ursis.* The *Greenland* Bears are kind one to another. But to the shame of those who call themselves Christians, (but are of the *Synagogue* of *Satan* that *Aboriginal* Murderer) men are not so modest as to be confined within the limits of making true the Horrid Adage, *Homo homini Lupus*, that one man is a *Wolf* to devour another, but they proceed to the utmost extremity of *Malice* and *Madness*, and become *Homo homini Dæmon*, Devils to damn one another, not *Anthropophagi*, or *Canibals*, but *Psychophagi*, feeding upon humane souls: turning that innocent *Wisdom* of the Serpent, which our *Lord* commands to preserve our selves, into the restless Malice of the *Old* Serpent, to destroy others, Souls, Bodies, and Estates; and to infuse the Mortal Poison of *Adders*, which is under their Lips, into the Souls of *Credulous* Men, through their Ears and Eyes, with the pretext of *Piety* and true Religion. The Glorious Company of *Saints* and *Martyrs* now triumphant in Heaven, went thither through a *Red* Sea of Blood, but it was their own which was shed by the cruel hands of *Heathenish* Persecutors, who did it ignorantly in Unbelief; and with joy it was, that they set their seal to the Testimony of *Jesus* and his Truth in their dearest blood, Emptying their *Veins*, that

that their Souls might be filled with a glorious Immortality. But now *Christians* who all profess one Common Name and *Faith*, think they do not set to their seal to that *Truth*, unless they shed the blood of one another: and that most commonly for differences in *Opinion*, for Words, Names, Fancies, and Conjectures, at least if we may believe there is no more in the bottom, which they conceal, than there is in what they pretend openly for the ground of the *Quarrel*. Oh Barbarous *Christianity!* Oh Heathenish *Impiety!* In the importunate Croud of such mournful thoughts and considerations, of former *Experience* of our late Shipwrack, and fear of future *Events*, which the Noisy *Tempest* that seemed to threaten our *Crazy* and bruised *Vessel*, suggested to my mind; my Soul was overwhelmed with *Grief* and fear, and ready to sink into *Dispair*, both at the remembrance of the past, and the terrible Consequences of that Inevitable *Ruin*, which Truth it self has pronounced against a house and a *Kingdom* divided within, and therefore against themselves; and distracted by Intestin Discords.

The prophetique Caution of the *Apostle* came presently into my mind: *But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.* I saw, me thought, with Horror, the too plain Gal. 5. 15.

truth of it in those once *Golden* Candlesticks, the Seven Churches of *Asia*; who by their *Discords* were laid in ashes; and are the habitations of *Owls* and *Dragons*, or far worse Inhabitants, the sordid Worshippers of that Great *Impostor Mahomet*. I could not stand upon the Brink of such an amasing *Precipice* without extreme Horror, nor see the Cause so Evident, without a dreadful apprehension of the *Tragical* Issue. Which made me break out into the Passionate Wish of the afflicted *Jeremy*:

Vid. Mr. Smith's Travels to the Seven Churches of Asia.

Jer. 9. 1, 2. *Oh that my Head were Waters, and mine Eyes a fountain of Tears, that I might weep day and night for the daughter of my People! Oh that I had in the Wilderness a lodging Place of a way-faring man, that I might leave my People, and go from them, for they are an Assembly of treacherous Men.* For I found my self like the Royal Prophet; *My heart was sore pained within me, fear and trembling came upon me; then said I, Oh that I had wings like a Dove, for then would I flee away and be at rest; I would wander far off, and remain in the Wilderness; I would make haste to escape from the windy storm and tempest.* But what, said I, will *Tears* avail; though I could raise them to a *Deluge*? can they attone the Sins, or drown the Miseries of a *Nation*? Oh blessed *Jesus!* thou great and compassionate Shepherd, look down from thy

Psal. 55. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

thy glorious Habitation upon this miſerable *Flock*, which with thy precious blood thou haſt redeemed: pour out thine Indignation upon the *Heathen*, who either have not known thy *Name*, or *Hate* it. When ſhall that happy *Unity* and perfect *Charity* bleſs thy Church, in being one Flock under thee, that great and only Shepherd? when ſhall the breaches of *Zion* be made up? when ſhall *Jeruſalem*, by being at *Unity* in it ſelf, become the *Glory* of the whole Earth, the *City* of the great *King*? I begun then to meditate upon the Goodneſs of that wiſe *Phyſician* who giveth Medicine to heal their Sickneſs, and maketh men to be of one mind in a Houſe: But alas! when I came to put our Sins (and eſpecially our *Ingratitudes* for Mercies that were *Miracles*) into the Ballance againſt *Gods* Mercy, I found but too true what the ſame afflicted *Prophet* ſayes of himſelf, in a Caſe not much different from ours; *When I would comfort my ſelf againſt ſorrow, my heart was faint within me; we looked for Peace but no good came; for a time of Health, but behold trouble.* Long have we hoped to ſee good *Dayes*, and expected better Times; *but the harveſt is paſt, the Summer is ended, and we are not deliver'd.* Nay rather, our *Symptoms* appear more dangerous, and our wound almoſt incurable. With which conſidera- *Jer.* 8. 18.

tion, I burſt out into the ſenſible Expreſſion of the *holy* diſconſolate, in the following *Verſe: For the hurt of the Daughter of my People am I hurt; I am black; aſtoniſhment hath taken hold on me!* I had no ſooner uttered thoſe *Words*, but my Eye was Encountred with the ſucceeding Expreſſion; *Is there no Balm in Gilead? Is there no Phyſician there? why then is not the health of the daughter of my People recovered?* Yes certainly (*ſaid I*) there is Balm in *Gilead*, but where is the *Phyſician* that ſhall apply it? The wound is deep, and Feſter'd; and will not indure the leaſt, the gentleſt hand to touch it. They who are ſick even to the Extreameſt *Agonies* and Convulſions, believe themſelves in the moſt perfect ſtate of *Health*; they reject, contemn, and deſpiſe the *Phyſician*, and his applications; and though they are in the moſt dangerous *Delirium*, they are ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed of this belief, that they think the *Phyſitian* mad and brain-ſick; and are ſo far from receiving his advice and skill, that they cry out, He wants it himſelf, and they pretend to give it.

I knew that many there were who had attempted the charitable deſign in *vain*; I knew their *Talents* far exceed my *Mite*; I can give but all, they can give no more, and that I will give. I know my *Lord* will expect

expect an account, a ſtrict one from me ; and to receive his own with *Uſury* ; why ſhould I then hide my *Lords* money in the *Earth?* There may be as much Charity in a *Mite* as in a *Million* ; all will help the treaſury towards the rebuilding of the *Temple* : and *God* who knows all things, knows, I think it too ſmall to boaſt of, or to give to be ſeen of men. They who have received more, may be more Liberal ; and I hope they will. Thus did I ſtruggle with my troubled thoughts ; but at the laſt I conſidered that of the Incomparably wiſeſt of Men : *I returned* (ſays he) *and ſaw under the Sun, that the Race is not to the ſwift, nor the Battle to the ſtrong* ; and my hopes received a ſtrange aſſiſtance, and my Courage a reinforcement by the *Parable* of the poor Man, who delivered the *City* from the iminent danger with which it was ſurrounded ; Nor did the reflection of ſo great a *Judge*, upon the poor Mans going unrewarded for his ſervice, diſcourage me. For ſince I dare neither pretend to his *Character*, nor ſucceſs ; I am ſecured againſt the diſcontents and danger of *Oblivion*. The *Glory* of good actions, if they ſucceed, is *Reward* enough for innocent Minds ; and if they fail, the ſatisfaction of having attempted them, is beyond all other *Recompences* ; and I may truly ſay, my greateſt

Matt. 25. 27.

Eccl. 9. 11.

Verſ. 14. 15.

fear is, leſt I ſhould not be able to accompliſh the Good *Deſign*, which I do ſo paſſionately deſire to do: My *Intention* is my Satisfaction, and if it will procure my *Pardon* from ſome, it is beyond my *Expectation*: and however, I am aſſured, that whatſoever reception or Effect my Intentions may find amongſt *Men*, yet that even this inconſiderable *Cup* of cold Water, ſhall not fail of a proportionate reward, from him who recompenſes ſincere Intentions and poor Indeavours (for all our beſt Actions are no better) done in *Faith* and *Charity*, with tranſcendant degrees of real *Glory*.

Matt. 10. *ult.*

In the Name therefore of *God Omnipotent*, I will Enter upon this Rugged way, which is therefore Uneven, becauſe few there are that tread it: and in my Travels through theſe Regions of good and bad Report, I will endeavour to Follow the bright Star of *Truth*; and to avoid the dangerous *Rocks* of Partiality and *Paſſion*: I will not Court the Kindneſs even of that *Party* which I own, by unmanly, and much leſs Unchriſtian *Flattery*, nor treat thoſe who are *Enemies* to themſelves and truth, with heat and *Animoſity*, as if they were my own. And if at any time I may appear tranſported, too ſharp or *Rugged*, I deſire it may be remembred, that the *Samaritan* was no leſs Compaſſionate or Cha-

Charitable, for the ſharpneſs of his *Wine*, than for the ſmoothneſs of his *Oyl*; the one was as neceſſary to cleanſe the *Wounds*, as the other to heal them; and both previous to his binding them up. All the *Requeſt* I have to thoſe who at preſent differ from me in *Opinion* is, That if I ſpeak truth, I may be Credited, and they perſwaded to Embrace the ſame Deſign which all good *Chriſtians* are bound to promote as well as I, if they expect *Salvation*; viz. *Peace on Earth, and good will towards Men, as well as Glory to God on high.* And if I be miſtaken, ſince I do not Err of Malicious Wickedneſs, that they will pity me, and inform me better. No perſon ſhall more greedily Embrace a clearer beam of *Divine Truth*, that darling of my Soul; nay, I will further ingage, that though it comes diſguiſed and wrapt up in *Calumnies* and reproaches (the moſt diſadvantageous dreſs to apparel *Perſwaſion* in) yet will I not refuſe to Embrace her. Nor becauſe it comes from my *Enemies*, and with all the Circumſtances which may make it appear ſo, will I therefore become theirs, and my own, by being an Enemy to *Truth*. The ſword which was deſign'd to kill, may ſometimes by a happy accident Cure, by cutting the *Impoſthume*; and though the *Lancet* be ſharp, yet if it Cures my *Feavor*, by diſcharging the *Malignant* humor

of

of my blood, I ſhall not refuſe the aſſiſtance I may receive from ſuch a profitable *Wound*; and would be glad to eſcape a *Shipwrack*, even by the *Rock* upon which I am ſplit.

Chap. II.

He that will Build ſecure, muſt firſt clear the *Foundation*; and if he finds either Sand or *Rubbiſh*, he muſt remove them; and not think his time or labour loſt, which is ſpent in ſinking deep to find a firm and ſolid *Bottom*, where he intends to ſet a weighty *Pile*, and raiſe a laſting *Fabrick*. For otherwiſe he can expect no better ſucceſs, than the fooliſh builder in the *Parable, who built upon the Sand*, which was not able to indure the violent ſhock of the noiſy *Tempeſt*; but when the *Wind* and the *Rain* made their attaque upon it, it preſently Fell, and great was his *Folly* that built it, as well as the fall of it.

Matt. 7. 26.

Whosoever they be that will Embrace *Truth*, and put on Charity, the Bond of Chriſtian Perfection, and the fulfilling the *Royal Law of Liberty*, muſt ſeriouſly Reſolve to deveſt themſelves of what is contrary to it; The great inquiry of the *World* is that of *Pilate* to our Bleſſed *Lord*, *What is truth?* but with him, they ſcarcely put the

Joh. 18. 38.

the hasty *Interrogatory*, before they go out, not finding *Patience* enough to stay for an *answer*; and therefore they take up that which first offers it self to them under that *Sacred Name*, which all *Impostors* challenge, but none possess. And having once received the Counterfeit *Mettal* with that *Character* and Superscription, so great is the *Authority* even of the Name of *Truth*, that it goes for Currant *Coin* with the Credulous; who are either Unable, or Unwilling to bring it to the *Touchstone* themselves; or to suffer others, who can, to Give it the *Test*: Nay, so strong and forcible are the Impressions which this Counterfeit *Treasure* makes in the Minds of Men; that it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to perswade them to relinquish it, or to change their flawy *Bristol*, or their fiery *Flint*, for a Real *Diamond*, the inestimable *Pearl of Price*: so that you cannot go about to undeceive and disabuse them, but they take you for a Cheat; and suspect you guilty of a *Design* to Rob them of that *Treasure* which they value as their *Life*, and it may be above it; and though you be able to prove and demonstrate that it is only the shining and *Chymical Glass* of over-heated *Zeal*, yet will they jealously suppose all you say is only to deceive them; and that you disparage theirs, to give a lustre to your own, which they be-

believe you would put off to them for your own advantage.

We muſt therefore indeavour to ſhew what are the *Enemies* of Truth, and by conſequence, of *Unity*, and *Charity*, before we can come to diſcover her from the *Crowd* of pretenders; for it has always been the ſucceſsful induſtry of him who is the *Enemy of all Truth*, to ruin Unity and Charity, by ſetting up *Counterfeits*, and apparelling them like this Glorious *Queen*; thereby to rob her of her Lawful *Empire* over the Minds of Men, and make them pay Homage to *Error* and *Falſhood* under her Uſurped *Name*.

The firſt Enemy of Truth is *ſelf Intereſt*. There is in all Mankind a Natural *Love* to themſelves, and a kindneſs to the preſent concerns of *Life*; and therefore, nothing is more Common, than to make an *Eſtimate* of truth in proportion to the advantages they poſſeſs by her; and though men talk much of *Naked Truth*, yet they Generally leave the Courtſhip of her to Fools or *Philoſophers*; and Eſteem that worth marrying which hath the faireſt *Ornaments*, and the beſt *Portion*; and whoever does moleſt and diſturb, or in their *opinion* go about to divorce them from ſuch an advantageous *Alliance*, ſhall difficultly perſwade them that he is their *Friend*. Men uſually are as *jealous* of a rich

rich and profitable *Error*, which they have Eſpouſed, as they can be of the greateſt *Treaſure* they poſſeſs. And whoſoever ſhall go about to perſwade them out of this, muſt be look't upon as an *Enemy* to their real happineſs, of which he would rob them under the pretence of being theirs, and the Friend of *Truth*: Nay, though you be able to give them the cleareſt *Demonſtration* that they ſhall advantage themſelves, even in theſe beloved Circumſtances of *Intereſt*, *Riches*, *Honor*, and *Reputation*; yet ſhall you gain little Credit by your pains, and rarely perſwade them to make an *Experiment*, in regard, that they look upon their preſent *Condition*, as a moſt ſenſible *certainty*, but upon what you propoſe, as a *hazardous Contingency*; and are unwilling to exchange *one Bird in the hand for two in the Buſh.*

DAILY *Experience* convinces of this; for though it is evident both to Senſe and *Reaſon*, that Temperance, Sobriety, Juſtice, Chaſtity, Fidelity, and Honeſty, are the moſt certain *Methods* whereby men may obtain Health, Reputation, Honor, and Riches, and even long Life, to Enjoy all the Happineſs of this *World*, yet few there are that will venture upon the Practice of theſe Excellent *Virtues*: the *Intereſt* of preſent pleaſure prevails more with the *Laſcivious* and Intemperate; the

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Intereſt of certain, though unlawful *Gain*, which they do poſſeſs, is more valuable to the Unjuſt, the Diſhoneſt, Fraudulent, and Covetous, than all the promiſes in *Reverſion*, and future *Expectancies* that you can make them; and they are ſo Enamour'd of theſe profitable *Falſhoods*, that they will neither believe you, nor *Truth* it ſelf: Nay, ſo powerful is this *Intereſt*, that it will manage men even againſt the Dictates of *Nature* and Common Reaſon; againſt the Infallible *Teſtimony* of Experience; for, who is he that does not love and value his *Life* above all things? and yet every month produces many ſad *Examples* of Men and Women, who have not been deterr'd from purſuing what they thought their *Intereſt*, by Thefts, Robberies, and Murders; though they did in every ſuch Undertaking, run, not only a private *hazzard* of their *Lives*, from the juſt revenge of perſons ſo injur'd by them; but the more certain Arms of *Publique Juſtice*, which in a thouſand *Inſtances*, before their Eyes, they know to have ſo long a reach, and ſo ſure a *ſtroak*; and the *Old* ſaying, *Non nôſti longas Regibus eſſe Manus?* has not been able to reſtrain *Ambitious* Minds from profitable *Treaſon*, and the *Great Intereſt* (as they have falſly thought) of *Rebellion* againſt their Soveraign.

It

It was with this *Ingine* that the mistaken *Jews* gave the first shock to *Christian Religion*, in the Person of our *Saviour*; and though they in reality confirm'd it, by fulfilling the *Prophecies* concerning him, in his Araignment, Tryal, Sufferings, and Death; yet was that an Effect of the *Wise* and over-ruling *Providence*; and no part of their *Intention*; their Design was their own *Interest*, the preservation of their Power, and the Safety of their *State* and *Nation*: for, when he had done as great a *Miracle* as it was possible, in raising *Lazarus* after he had been dead four days, and that *Martha* told him, *Lord by this time he stinketh*; Nay, after they themselves did acknowledge not only this, but many *Miracles* to have been done by him; yet *Powerful Interest*, not only closed their *Eyes* against the bright beams of *Divinity*, which broke forth through the Clouds of his Flesh, and contemptible *Condition*; against those *Gracious Words which proceeded out of that mouth, which spoak as never man spoak*; but hurried them on obstinately, blindly, and in all appearance *maliciously* to contrive, compass, and procure his ignominious *Death*: for, *then gathered the Chief Priests, and the Pharisees a Councel, and said*; *What do we? for this Man doth many Miracles; if we let him thus alone, all Men will believe on him,* *Joh.* 1. 8. 47.

and

and the Romans ſhall come and take away both our Place and Nation. Upon which followed the *Politick* (and beyond his ſenſe, *Prophetick*) Determination of *Caiaphas*; *Ye know nothing at all, nor conſider that it is Expedient for us* (it is our great *Intereſt*) *that one man ſhould die, and that the whole Nation periſh not; and from that Day forth, they took Counſel together to put him to death.* And this Reſolution grounded upon *Intereſt*, they purſued with that *Animoſity* and Violence, that neither the *Innocence*, nor *Miracles* of his Life, the Juſtification of *Pilate*, who openly pronounced him innocent, *and that he found in him no fault at all*; could prevail for his *Releaſe*, *but that rather a Tumult was made, and they cried out, Away with him, Away with him; Crucifie him, Crucifie him*; preferring a Thief and a Murderer to the Priviledge of their *Cuſtom* of having one releaſed at the *Feaſt*: Nay, even *Pilate* himſelf, perhaps terrified with the dream of his *Wife*, *to have nothing to do with that Juſt man*, yet contrary to his avowed *Judgment*, as appears in that 'tis ſaid, *he ſought to releaſe him*, yet was hurried down the ſwift torrent of Tumult and *Intereſt*, to condemn the *Innocent*; for no ſooner had the *Jews* cried out, *If thou let this man go, thou art no Friend to* Cæſar, *for whoſo maketh himſelf a King, ſpeaketh againſt* Cæſar; though

though he knew the *Kingdom of Chriſt was not of this World*, and therefore ſtood not in Competition with *Cæſar* for the Empire; *Yet when Pilate heard that ſaying, he brought Jeſus forth, and ſate down in the Judgment ſeat*; and though not without a ſcoffing Reluctancy, (*What, ſhall I Crucifie your King?*) he gave Sentence upon the *Innocent, and delivered him unto them to be Crucified:* in that *Action* ſhewing, how much he was, not a Friend to *Cæſar*'s Power, but, a ſlave to his own *Intereſt* in the Eſteem of *Cæſar*, by whoſe favour he poſſeſſed the Government of *Jury*, and and that he could rather violate the Laws of *Equity* and *Juſtice*, diſoblige his deareſt *Relations*, and ſlight the Importunities of his own *Conſcience*, than not worſhip this *Idol* of his own *Intereſt*.

A moſt notable *Inſtance* of the Power of *Intereſt* we have in that giddy Commotion which happen'd at *Epheſus*, upon the account of the *Goſpel*; where though the crafty *Silverſmith* made the people believe *that all was Gold that gliſter'd*; and cunningly inſinuated, that he was the great *Patron* of their *Ancient Religion*, which was in Danger to be loſt; and therefore laid that powerful *Motive* uppermoſt upon his *Tongue*; yet *Intereſt* was at the bottom, both of his Heart and *Deſign*. *For a certain man named* Demetrius, *a Silverſmith*, Acts 19. 24.

which made ſilver ſhrines (Medals bearing the ſtamp of *Diana*'s Temple) *for* Diana; *brought no ſmall gain unto the Craftſmen; whom he called together, with the workmen of like Occupation; and ſaid unto them, Ye know that by this Craft we have our Wealth*; This was the main Ground of the *Quarrel*, that of *Religion* comes in only to give the better Colour to the *Mutiny* with, a colateral *Moreover: Moreover, you ſee, that not alone at* Epheſus, *but almoſt throughout all* Aſia, *this* Paul *hath perſwaded and turned away much People, ſaying, that they be no Gods which are made with hands; ſo that not only this our Craft is in danger to be ſet at nought*, (there it was the *ſhoe pinch't*, this was the principal *Motive* of his Diſcontent, and his main argument againſt Chriſtianity) *but alſo, that the Temple of the great Goddeſs* Diana *ſhould be diſpiſed, and her Magnificence ſhould be deſtroyed, whom* Aſia *and all the World worſhippeth.* And of the ſame ſtamp where thoſe of whom St. *Paul* ſpeaks, who ſuppoſed *Gain was Godlineſs*, Intereſt, true *Religion*, from whom he commands therefore to withdraw.

1 *Tim.* 6. 5.

'Tis this *Intereſt* which ſeems to be the great obſtacle to the Converſion of the *Mahumetans* and *Pagans* to the Faith of *Chriſt*, and the Truth of the *Goſpel.* For though the Vulgar amongſt them, are, by reaſon

reaſon of their ſtupid *Ignorance* and Cuſtom, wrapt up in clouds of darkneſs, and have not a *Capacity* of Underſtanding, much elevated above that of *Brutes*; yet doubtleſs thoſe of better *Condition*, even by their converſations with the *Chriſtians*, cannot but have better conceptions of things; and however they may varniſh over this *Obſtinacy* to their ridiculous Faith and *ſordid Principles*, with the pretence of *Zeal* for the Law of their *Great Prophet*; yet doubtleſs finding the ſecurity of their Abſolute and *Arbitrary* Dominion, and Tyranny over their Subjects, receives an Eſtabliſhment from this blind Obedience and powerful *Ignorance*; that Conſideration ſways them againſt all the Reaſon and Arguments in the *World*.

NOR will the *Roman Religion* Eſcape the danger of this overpoiſe of *Intereſt*. 'Tis this which has hitherto been the Obſtacle to all the Indeavours which have been uſed, or propoſed, to reform both thoſe groſſer *Errors* which they have introduced into *Faith* and good *Manners*; and thoſe leſſer profitable *Follies*, which have crept into their *Church*, by the back-ſtairs of Advantage, Riches, and Eſteem. For by laying it down as a certain Foundation of Faith and *Divine Verity*, that the *Pope* is Supreme Head of the Church; above the *Scriptures*, above *Councels*, the Infal-

lible Rule and ſole *Judge* of all Controverſies; they neceſſarily Captivate all the *Laity*, with the chains of blind Obedience and implicite Faith: and that neceſſary and even Meritorious *Ignorance*, eſpecially of the *Scriptures*, which they commend and incourage; together with the eaſie Exerciſe of *Religion*, which is made Satisfactory, Meritorious, and Supererrogating without the Intention, or even Underſtanding of the *Mind*; the Mercinary way of Expiating *Guilt*, and Purchaſing *Heaven*, after all the Enjoyments of a ſenſual, laſcivious, and debauched *Life*, by Confeſſion here, and *Maſſes* bought to be ſaid hereafter; and at the worſt the pains of *Purgatory*; all which *Doctrins* bring in *Treaſure* and Authority to the *Prieſts* and Church, which generally ſhares with them in the purchaſe, and permits them not to have lawful *Heirs*, that ſo ſhe may be their *Executrix*; theſe and a multitude of the ſame *Nature*, which are made matters of *Faith*, and *Sacraments* in their Church, eſſential to Salvation; Faſten on the *Manacles*, and make their *Proſelytes* voluntarily entertain a *ſlavery*, ſo agreable to their Wiſhes and Deſires. For who would not like a *Religion* which permits him to Enjoy all the Liberties of the *World* and the Fleſh (though renounced by his *Baptiſmal Vow*) and yet puts him out of the danger of

of *Hell* and Damnation; that allows him to ſerve his *Mammon* of Unrighteouſneſs, and yet expect a Reward from *God*, whom he may at the ſame time ſerve (though *Chriſt* ſays Nay to it) and pleaſe with a few random *Prayers*, repeated only with the labour of the Lips; which at one *Heaven* according to their *Quantity*, and are Efficacious by their *Multiplicity*; who would not be a *Papiſt*, who can believe, that though he live all the Year like a *Heathen* in Senſuality and open Impiety; yet if at *Eaſter* he make Confeſſion to a *Prieſt*, he ſhall thereby clear the ſcore betwixt *God* and his *Soul*, and be a good *Catholique*; though he is no ſooner parted from his *Ghoſtly Father*, but he repeats the ſame *Crimes*, or it may be worſe, and returns to the former *Vomit and wallowing in the Mire*, perfectly upon the incouragement of the ſame *Remedy*? who would not be ſuch a *Catholique*? when a few knocks upon his Breaſt ſhall be *Contrition*, and ſome auſterities and hardſhips practiſed upon the *Body*, ſhall ſatisfie for the ſin of his *Soul*; and the moſt *flagitious* Offenders may hope for, and be certain of *Reconciliation* to *God*, and yet never be ſenſible of the ſevere *Agonies* of Spirit, and the inſupportable Wounds of *Conſcience*, the dreadful Horrors of a *guilty Mind*? Is not this a ſoft and eaſie way to *Heaven*,

which makes the Way ſo broad, and the *Gate* ſo wide, which is ſet open by St. *Peter's Keys*, that it is impoſſible any man ſhould either Miſs the one, or not Enter the other, who is not either ſo miſerably *Poor*, or ſo wretchedly *Covetous*, or ſo great an *Unthrift*, or ſo deſtitute of Charitable *Friends*, as not to be able to leave a ſmall ſum of Money for *Maſſes* and *Dirges* to reskue him from the *Pains of Purgatory*. O dangerous *Simony*, which ſells *Heaven*, and the *Holy Ghoſt* (without which the other cannot be had) for Money! And if the *Pope* has ſuch a *Power* to relieve the *Quick and the Dead*, he is the moſt Uncharitable perſon (to ſay no worſe) in the *World*, who when for a word of his *Mouth* he can Save ſo many Souls from the Horrid Pains of *Purgatory*, will not do it unleſs he be hired to it; the Good *Shepherd* lays down his Life for the Flock; but the Hireling will not ſpare his Breath to Cool the Flaming Tongues of thoſe who ſuffer ſuch Intollerable *Pains*, unleſs he be paid for *his*.

And if at any time the more *Learned* or Intelligent, come to diſcover the *pious Frauds*, the Great *Severities* which are made uſe of againſt them, if they do but mutter againſt the *Church*, the Fear of looſing their Lives or Eſtates, and wearing the Infamous Brand of *Hereticks*, is the *Inter-*

Intereſt which ſeals their Lips in *ſilence.*

And for the *Clergy*, the High *Honors* to which they may arive, and the dazeling Luſtre of the *Tripple Diadem* ſhines ſo full upon their Eyes, that it takes away their ſight; and the innumerable ways of obtaining Dignities, Riches, Eſteem, and Veneration with the *Laity*, generally prove too ſtrong *Charms* to be reſiſted by feeble Nature. For who would turn a poor Proteſtant *Prieſt*, when thereby he ſhall be ſo great a *looſer?* when thereby he ſhall part with all the fair Revenue of *Maſſes* for the *Dead*, Money for *Pardons*, *Indulgences*, *Licences*, *Diſpenſations*, and the more than *Almighty Priviledge*, and *Miracle* of making his *Creator*, and *tranſubſtantiating* a poor piece of Bread into the *real body* of the Son of *God?* when he muſt renounce all hopes and pretenſions to the *Red Cap*; the Title of *Eminency*, and the Princely ſtate of *S. E. R. Cardinal*; the next ſtep to *Vice Deus*, and the Supreme Honor of the *Triple Miter?* and when in Exchange he muſt confine his *Ambition* to (it may be) a ſmall *Benefice*, and a great *Charge*, in his vigilant *Cure of Souls*; *a heavy Burthen*, and it may be *a light Gain*; and which if he does indeavour faithfully to diſcharge, ſhall procure him in the room of Love, Honour, and Eſteem, Hatred,

Scorn, Contempt, and Reproaches. And when the highest that can be hoped, is but a *Pastoral Staff*, and humble *Mitre*, the Load and Envy of Government, the Constant Care of the *Churches*, and a certain Revenue of *Malice*, for the little *Temporal* Honour, and Estate which it may be is but just sufficient to maintain *Charity*, and *Hospitality*, those Honourable *Characters* as well as Expensive *Duties* of a Primitive *Bishop*.

I could heartily wish, that even this *Interest*, and the *Revenue* of the Church, could not be objected against any *Dissenters*, as a former Motive that induced them to *Ruine* her, that so they might Rob her; and that the same Spur did not still continue their *Career*, in the same *Design*; I know they will disown it; and I wish we could believe them and our *senses* at the same time. I wish the advantages they make of *Tones*, Phrases, long Prayers, sanctified Looks, and *Religious* Disobedience, with which they please the *Factious*, shelter the *Seditious*, and agrandize themselves both in Riches and Reputation; might not be objected against *Dissenters*, as a greater *Reason* for their Nonconformity, than any real Power of *Conscience*. And they give a just occasion to suspect that they have not a *Conscience void of offence towards God and Man*, who dare

dare daily break the *Laws* of the one and the other; and make no ſcruple to wound the *Conſciences* of others both weak and ſtrong, under pretence of keeping their own from being wounded; which is juſt ſo charitable, as for me to wound another man, and ſay it was in my own *defence*, and leſt he ſhould have injur'd me.

So that it appears how great an influence *Intereſt* has upon the *minds* of Men, to obſtruct the Entertainment of *Truth*, and that therefore in Order to obtain *Peace* and *Unity*, there is an abſolute neceſſity that Men ſhould lay aſide the Clog of *ſelf Intereſt*.

Chap. III.

IT is not *Intereſt* alone that obſtructs the happy *Union* that ought to be amongſt *Chriſtians*; and occaſions thoſe *Diviſions* amongſt them; but there is alſo a neceſſity, that Men ſhould deveſt themſelves of their *prejudices*, and *prepoſſeſſions* of mind: for theſe do always keep thoſe Differences alive; and are the conſtant food and nouriſhment which does not only ſupport, but increaſe and augment them; till they grow at laſt beyond all hopes and poſſibility of *Compoſure*. Would all perſons indeavour heartily to take the *Beam* out of their

their own *Eyes*, they would ſee clearly to remove the *Moats* out of their *Brothers*; and would hereby advance a large ſtep towards *Reconciliation*, by coming to a good Underſtanding, and a clear diſcovery of what it is they differ about: *Controverſies* being many times in mere *Words* rather than in *Subſtance*, and are rather the Effects of prejudice and miſunderſtanding one anothers meaning than in the things themſelves about which we ſeem to diſagree: for *Prejudice* is an ill *Opinion* of Perſons or Things, ariſing from a falſe *judgment* which we entertain concerning them; which makes them appear to us of monſtrous and deformed Shapes and Colours; it is a certain *Jaundice* of the Mind, which ſtains every thing with the diſagreable appearances with which, not the things themſelves, but the *Conceptions* we have of them are *vitiated*; and our *Judgment* by that miſinformation deceived and abuſed: for when the *Mind* comes to be infected with *prejudice*, it renders thoſe things ill and unlawful, which to a mind cleared from thoſe obſtructions and groſs humors of the *Underſtanding*, appear as in reality they are in themſelves, Innocent, Good, Lawful; and many times expedient and neceſſary; or however at the worſt, in their own *Natures* ſimply indifferent.

THIS is the Common *Lot* of all thoſe things

things in *Divine Worſhip*, which are not of the *Eſſence*, but Circumſtantials of *Religion*; which are the things that raiſe the greateſt Diſſentions and Differences amongſt *Chriſtians*. It is at once the occaſion of *Wonder* and of *Pity*, to ſee Chriſtians who all agree in the *Main*, That *there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him: and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him*; who all conſent in one common *End*, and Deſign, which is *Eternal* Happineſs in Heaven; and one hope of this Common *Salvation*; that yet they ſhould diſagree, and fall out by (and about) the *Way* that leads to thoſe Bleſſed *Regions* of Light and *Immortality*. When *Joſeph* (the Type of our bleſſed *Jeſus*) had given his Brethren changes of *Rayment*, and Proviſion for their *Journey*, in order to bring them out of the Land of *Famine*, to the Country of *Goſhen*, it was not an unneceſſary Command which he laid upon them, *See that ye fall not out by the Way*. Should they now have fallen out into Diſputes and Differences about their *Apparel*; becauſe it was not all of a Size, Colour, or Faſhion; or whether they ſhould travel the ſame way back again, and not ſeek another? would not the one have been as ridiculous a diſpute, as the other dangerous? and yet this

Eph. 4. 5. 1 *Cor.* 8. 6.

Gen. 45. 24.

this very *Folly* there are too many Guilty of; who leaving the *old Road* of Charity, because their Brethren will not comply with them in their *Novel Dresses* of *Religion*, seek out a *new Road* to Heaven, which the foot of *Saint* or *Martyr* never trod before. Thus shall you see some *People* start at the very word *Ceremony*, as if it would convey the *Plague* into their *Ears*, and Damnation into their Souls; and yet they themselves can perform no *Religious* Office of bodily Worship without it; and if St. *Paul* be to be credited, *God* expects we should *offer our bodies a living Sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God, which is our reasonable service.*

Rom. 12. 1.

A *Ceremony* is nothing more than a Solemn way or manner of performing *Religious* Duties, which word some derive *à Carendo, quia Religio non potest Exerceri Cæremonijs carens*, because no *Religion* can be performed without some *Ceremonies*; though others it may be more aptly *à Charitate*, from that *Charity* which the agreement of *People* in one way and manner of *Worship*, does naturally produce among them: or it may be from the old *Latin* word *Cærus*, which is the same with *Sanctus*, holy, for which reason the *Latins* call their *Holy-days*, *Cæremoniosi Dies*, and it is no more but a *Rite* or *Custom* appropriated to *holy Uses*. Some there are, who to render

der it *Odious*, derive it from the Heathen *Goddeſs*, *Ceres*; how like *Scholars*, or rather *School-boys*, let the Learned *Judge*. But ſuppoſing it were true, is it a good Argument, the Heathens had *Ceremonies*, therefore the Chriſtians muſt have none? By the ſame reaſon, the Heathens Worſhipped *falſe Gods*, therefore Chriſtians muſt not Worſhip the *True*, for all Worſhip is *Ceremony*.

But when once this *prejudice* is fixed to the *Word*, it is no more but fixing the *Word* to what *People* diſlike, and it preſently looks *black and ugly*; and becomes a *Mormo*, a *Bugbear* to their thoughts; and like Children, they ſtart and *Cry out* at the ſhadow which they make themſelves: but if they can add the word *Popiſh*, that it is *a Popiſh Ceremony*, then it is *Impious*, *Unlawful*, *Superſtitious*, and *Damnable*, and all that can be ſaid to render it *Execrable*, and Abominable: when as in truth all that *Papiſts* do, is not *Popery*, nor Abominable, and Unlawful; but however, by the ſtrength of this *prejudice*, thoſe things which are truly *Primitive*, are made *Popiſh*; kneeling at the receiving the *holy Euchariſt*, bowing at the *Name of Jeſus*, and the whole Book of the *Liturgy*, though for the generality expreſs words of *Scripture*, are made *Ceremonies*, and *Popiſh*; and then, how innocent ſoever, if a Tumult can

can but be made, *Away with them, Crucifie them:* whereas ſober people ought to Conſider that there is a Neceſſity of ſome Solemn *Ways*, Rites, Modes, and Methods of Expreſſing our *Devotion*, and Worſhip; and ſince theſe *Modes*, or Ways, are *Ceremonies*, and ſome *Ceremonies* are not only Lawful but Neceſſary, why not theſe? which have been approved in all Ages of the *Church*, ever ſince the times of *Apoſtolical Purity*, rather than any new ones of *Private Invention*, in oppoſition to *Publique Authority*, which thinks fit to Continue, Eſtabliſh, and Command theſe to be Uſed in the *Church*?

I am not ignorant that here is a ſtrong ſuſpicion of *Malice*, as well as Miſtake; and it is much to be doubted, that there is a Combination of *Intereſt*, as well as *Prejudice*, in ſome of the *Principal* Fomenters of Diviſion; who appear ſo tranſported againſt all *Ceremonies*; and that though they know better things, yet they mightily indeavour to maintain theſe *Prejudices* in the Minds of the *Eaſy Multitude*; who hang their *Faith* upon the *Oracles* of their Lips; and in this are abſolute *Papiſts*, believing with an *implicit Faith* the Infallible *Decrees* of the Heads of their *Church*: for upon this Depend the *Benevolences* which their Followers do ſo freely beſtow upon them for this Induſtrious *Flattery*, that

that these Prejudices are *Marks* and Signs of their Christian *Liberty*, and being Escaped from the *Yoak of Antichristian Tyranny*, and *Egyptian Darkness*, into the glorious light of *Gospel Truth*; as they are pleased to call even these *Prejudices* and Mistakes; though to the certain loss of Christian *Charity*, and *Unity*; the great hazard of Temporal *Peace*, and the ruine of *Religion* it self, as I shall hereafter more fully make appear.

This dangerous *Prejudice*, which does infect the minds of Men, as it has its foundation in misunderstanding of things; so it receives strength from two things which are almost as difficult to change and alter, as the *Course of Nature*: and they are, *Education* and *Custom*. Of the last the *Holy Ghost* speaks most plainly by the Prophet *Jeremy*. *Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the Leopard his spots? then may ye do good, who are accustomed*, (or as the *Hebrew* word signifies, *taught*) *to do evil, learn to do well.* Of the other, that of the *Heathen Poet* may pass for good *Divinity*, having been confirmed to be truth, by the Universal Testimony of all *Ages*: Jer. 13. 23.

Quô semèl est imbuta recens, servabit Odorem
Testa diu.——

the

the first seasoning Principles and *Prejudices* which we receive in our *Youth*, stick closely to us for a long time after. The wise *Philosopher* tells us, the Soul of Man is *Rasa Tabula*, like a white sheet of *Paper*, out of which therefore it must be more than Common *Art*, that can so clear take out the first writing, as to super-induce a new *Copy* fair and legible.

This is the true *Reason* why any person finds it so difficult to quit those *Notions of Religion*, which have been Established in his Mind from his Early *Infancy*: there is a Marvellous Agreement, and Natural Kindness to those *Opinions* which we suck in with our *Milk*; they are like *Foster Brothers*, to whom it has been observed, there is as strong an inclination as to the *Natural*; we play and converse with them from our *Cradles*, and as soon as we can go alone, we take them by the *hand*; we sleep with them in our bosoms, and contract an insensible *Friendship* with them, a pleasing *Familiarity*, which takes off all deformities; we love them, and we like them, and their very blackness is a *Beauty*, as it is with the *African Nations*, to whom even that which we judge deformity, appears more lovely than the most delicate *Europæan Beauty*. What can be more impertinent and ridiculous than the *Alchoran* of that great *Impostor*, *Mahumed*? and yet a natural

natural *Turk*, born to those prejudices of Education, and Custom, believes him the greatest of the *Prophets*; and the only friend of God: And though he have a great veneration for *Christ*, yet would he spit in your face, and call you *Hog*, (the most disgraceful term they think they can affront a Christian with) if you should contradict him, or go about to convince him of his *Errors*, by shewing the absurdities and impossibilities of what he calls his *Religion*.

What can be more Barbarous and Savage, than the *Rites* of the *Pagan Idolaters*? and yet, you may almost as soon remove a *Mountain*, as one of them, from what has been the *Religion* of his *Ancestors*; and his, ever since he knew any. What can be more unreasonable, than some of the *Tenets* of the *Romish Church*? more ridiculous and antick than some parts of their greatest *Solemnities*; more fabulously extravagant than some of their *Legends*, and most of their *Miracles*? and yet we see, how tenacious not only most of the *vulgar*, but even of the learned amongst them are; that they will not retrench even the *fopperies* of their *Faith*, as they call it, to advance one step towards an *Union* with the whole *Catholique* Church, of the past, and present *Ages*; but on the contrary, by the *Anathema's*

of the Convention of *Trent*, have cut off all hope and possibility of such an accord; by establishing the very *Minutiæ & Quisquiliæ*, the punctilio's and parings of their *Religion*, as things necessary to be believed in order to *salvation*.

WHAT can be more hard and cruel, than for those who profess to be of the *Reformed Religion*, to run to the very extremities of ruining themselves, by mutual *Divisions*? and so far to weaken themselves and disparage their *Religion* by intestine Quarrels, to open an easy way for *Conquest* to the Enemies both of our *Religion and Countrey*; for some differences in Circumstances of *Divine Worship*? And yet we see, such is the strength of some mens *prejudices*, and the education of others, in the late unhappy times of our *Misery* and Distraction, (from which we were rescued by so many *Miracles*) that they will rather venture upon the same *tempestuous* Sea again, from whence we have so lately escaped *shipwrack*; nay use all *Arts* and *Arguments* to push men headlong from the Shoar, into the foaming Main again, which they have but just recovered, still wet and shivering, rather than by a compliance with the *modest* commands of the wise *Pilots*, their lawful Superiors, even in the most indifferent things, endeavour to repair the leaky *vessel* of the *Church*

and

and State; by advancing their *peace* and happineſs by a bleſſed *Union*. The *glory of God*, and the ſalvation of mens ſouls, which certainly are never to be promoted by variance, hatred, emulations, ſeditions, ſwellings, and tumults, are of no force or power, in compariſon of their *Prejudices*; but they will in obedience to the *tyranny* of their *education and cuſtom*, perſiſt in theſe practices, fearing neither the Laws of *God* or men; the tranſgreſſion of which they call *Zeal*, and their diſobedience *Religion*; but by their *example* teach others to do the ſame, and confirm them in it.

NOR is *Cuſtom* a leſs *Tyrant* over mens minds, to the introducing of *prejudice*, than *Education*: For hereby men acquire *habits*, which are a kind of ſecond *Nature*: And by long continuance are ſo rivetted into our good *eſteem*, that they are not to be put off without great difficulty, how inconſiderable ſoever they are; this is not more viſible in any thing, than the uſe and *opinion* which ſeveral *Nations* have of their ſeveral *habits* of *Apparrel*; for to a mind unprepoſſed with *cuſtom*, all habits which are decent, convenient and uſeful, appear *equal* and indifferent; yet does a *Spaniard* abhor the faſhion of the *French*, nor does the other uſe to be behind hand in his requital of the ſame *nature*: A *Turk* believes a *Turbant* and a long veſt the moſt orna-

mental dreſs in the *World*, and wiſhes it as a great curſe to his *enemy* to have the *plague of a Chriſtians hat:* And ſo it is with other *Nations*; The *Indian* prefers his adreſsful *nakedneſs* before the cumberſome veſtments of the *Europæans*, the ſtones in his Lips, Noſe, and Ears, he eſteems better ſet, than all the *Artiſts* in the World can do in *Gold*. All theſe are purely the effects of a prejudiced *Cuſtom*, which makes *People* gaze even to rudeneſs and incivility upon *Forreigners* when they appear amongſt us; and with a ridiculous *curioſity*, ſpy imaginary defects and deformities in the unaccuſtomed dreſſes of other *Countries:* Nay, even the antiquated *faſhions* of our own, though once the high and only becoming *modes* in their time; yet by *Cuſtom* become ſo uncouth, as to help us to *proverbs* of deriſion, by way of *compariſon*.

I chuſe to inſtance the rather in this ſtrength of prejudice acquired by *Cuſtom*, becauſe it bears an *Analogy* to the prejudices which poſſeſs peoples minds about the *Habits* and outward dreſſes of *Religion*. Thus he who has not been uſed to ſee a *Churchman* in his *Canonical* habit, looks upon him as a ſtrange undreſt *Monſter*; he who has not been acquainted with the Surplice, and other decent Veſtments of the Church, uſed in the *Celebration* of *Divine*

Divine Service, especially if he has by his *Education* been principled with a dislike and detestation of them, looks upon them as *antick* and useless *Formalities*: He who has been accustomed to sit at the *Lord's Table*, and to hand the Bread and Wine to his next *neighbour*, thinks kneeling an unnecessary part of his *Devotion*; and if he has been taught so, *Superstition and Idolatry*; and to receive it from the hand of the *Minister*, with the usual *Benediction*, a tedious and troublesome *Custom*: He who has been long used to sudden and *Extempore Prayers*, and believes them a fruit of the *Spirit*, and having it may be acquired a *Talent* that way, and pleases himself and others with it; looks upon being tied up to the words of the *Liturgy* as a hard confinement, and the imprisonment of the *Spirit*, because it ties up his *tongue* and his parts from their accustomed *Liberty* of saying any thing to *God Almighty*, and offering to him *the Sacrifice of Fools*: Which makes him abhor the *Sacrifice* of Praise and thanksgiving when tied by the *Authority* of the Church, and the Cords of *Royal* Commands, to the horns of the *Altar*. He who has been accustomed to certain studied, passionate, and languishing *Tones*, his Ears are grated with the *Musick* of the Church; though anciently used in the *Jewish* Church in the Worship *Psal.* 118. 27.

of *God*; the Employment of *Angels*, and commended to us by the *holy Ghost*, by the mouth of the *Psalmist*, upon so many *Instruments:* concluding the *Psalm* which will reach them both as to the Matter, Manner, and Time, *Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord, praise ye the Lord.*

Psalm 150. 6.

And for this reason it is, that the *Politick Heads* of Division and Separation, both *Papists* and other *Dissenters*, do industriously Prohibit or Estrange their *People*, from joining with us in our *Worship*; well knowing, that the prejudice of *Custom* will in a little time do more to perswade weak Minds to a dislike, than all the Reason in the *World* can to approve; and when once *People* have gone so far in *Custom*, to forsake the *Congregation* and Publick Service and Worship of *God*, for their own or the private phancies of their *Teachers*, then do they labour all they can to justifie their Separation against those who either oppose them, or indeavour to reclaim them; if they meet with weak *Opponents*, they do not only fortifie themselves in their *prejudice*, but stagger the others with their own weak defence; and so talk themselves into a *Custom* of Disobedience: if they meet with such as are too hard for them at dint of *Argument*, that is *Carnal Reasoning, and Worldly Wisdom*; and the defect

defect of *Reaſon* to make good their pretences, they either ſupply with wandring and ſhifting Wranglings, or however with the ſtrength of *Obſtinacy:* as I have heard one, who being too cloſe hunted from his Shifts and Evaſions, plainly ſaid, *It was a folly to talk to him of Reaſon, for he would hear no Reaſon, for he was ſure he was in the Right:* which though ſome may look upon as a *Subject* fit for laughter, for my own part, I look upon them as the greateſt *Objects* of *Compaſſion*; their *Condition* being certainly moſt deplorable, who are paſt the Uſe of their *Reaſon*; and one may have but too juſt grounds to apprehend, that more of the *Separation* are in the ſame Condition of *Obſtinacy* contracted by long *Cuſtom* and *Education.* And we have a great deal of *Reaſon* both to Pray for them, and with the *Apoſtle*, *To be delivered from Unreaſonable Men.*

So that the great influence of *Prejudice*, whether by long *Cuſtom*, or *Education*, is moſt apparent; and till ſuch time as men can be perſwaded to abandon theſe Fortifications and *Barricado's* of their Souls, they will remain impregnable againſt all the *Attempts* of *Truth* and *Reaſon*, which may be made Uſe of, to indeavour to bring them to a Chriſtian Compliance, into *Reconciliation*, *Peace*, and *Unity.*

Chap. IV.

WHERE *Intereſt* combined with *Prejudice* have taken deep Root, they are very hard to be overcome, or extirpated from the Minds of Men; but there are two things yet behind, which are more ſtubborn, becauſe more *natural* to us; as being uſually interwoven with the very *Tempers* of our *Nature*, the Vices of our *Complexions*, as well as contracted with time. For no Man is born with any Deſigns in his head, nor are *Prejudices* and *Cuſtoms*, *ex traduce*, derived from our *Parents*: but *Pride* and *Ambition* are Vices to which the very Conſtitutions of ſome mens *bodies* do more powerfully incline them; ſome *Natures* are infected with hot and tumultuary *Spirits*, a reſtleſs and a boiling Blood, impatient of the *Rein* of Government, as the Poet long ago obſerved in his Character of Youth, *Cæreus invitium flecti, Monitoribus aſper*: and it is deſcernable many times in the Earlieſt Sallies of *Life*, and ſo ſoon as Reaſon begins to ſhew it ſelf, *Pride and Ambition* begin to appear and diſcover themſelves; thus you ſhall ſee ſome *Natures* Meek and Malleable, ſoft and tender; others, as if with *Romulus* they had ſuck't the Wolf, will like him, play the *King* amongſt their Companions; and

and at that Age, are ſo ambitious of the little Honours, and Superiorities above their *Equals* in Age, and ſometimes their Superiors in *Quality*, that they will venture the ſeverities of the *Ferula*, and their Blood too, in the Quarrel, to be *Cæſar aut nullus*: and there is ſcarcely a Publique *School*, where one may not be furniſhed with a *Specimen* of this *Nature*. Now to ſubdue theſe *congenial* Inclinations, does doubtleſs require not only the greateſt force of *Virtue*, but the greateſt ſtock of *Grace*: and many times without the laſt, all the power of the firſt proves too weak a *Dam* to ſtop theſe impetuous *Torrents* of *Natural Ambition*, and *Pride*, when ſwell'd with the *Tides* of inviting and feazible *Temptations*; and violently raiſed above their Shoars, with the turbulent Air of *Popular breath*; the moſt dangerous *Tempeſt* that can blow upon theſe ſwelling and foaming *Waves*.

I joyn theſe two together, becauſe they are ſeldom found aſunder; and it is not common to find a proud man that is not *Ambitious*, or an *Ambitious* perſon that is not *proud*; and one can rarely be tempted by one, without the aſſiſtance of the other, and if they be not *Twins*, I cannot decide their Pretenſions which ſhould be the Elder Brother; but which ſoever is the firſt born of *Folly*, *Pride* uſually ſets *Ambition* upon

Acti-

Action: and what the one Projects the other Executes. For that any person should despise the Precepts of *Virtue* and *Religion*, the Principles of *Loyalty* and *Obedience*; *per fas & nefas*, (the Common Ladder of *Ambition*) aspire at high things, great places of Trust, Honour, Dignity, or Command in the *World*; must certainly be the Effect of *Pride*: for such *Tempers* are always *Opiniatres* of their own *Merits*; Haughty Minds think and believe therefore, that they deserve whatsoever they can *Desire*, and more than they have; and the higher they rise, still the more *Proud* and *Ambitious* they grow; looking upon their past Acquisitions, as the just reward of their *Wisdom* and *Conduct*; which still swells them with bigger *Desires*, and larger Thoughts; so that in reality *Ambition* knows no *Hercules Pillars*, because *Pride* cannot write a *Nè plùs ultrà* upon their *Merits*: for this is the *Dropsie* of the Mind, and the more Men drink, the the more they thirst:

——Totum licet hauserit Hermum,
Ardebit majore siti.——

thus the young *Macedonian* swell'd with his Victories over the Unfortunate *Persian* and his Allies, and being told of more Worlds,

Æstuat

Æstuat infelix angusto limite Mundi.

his *Ambition* boil'd over at his Eyes, that he was confin'd to one: nay, so strangely was he transported with this unruly *Tumor*, that nothing would satisfie him but to be a *God*, as if he had intentions to depose his adopted *Father*, and conquer *Heaven* too, when he came there.

Now it is the Constant *Temper* of these hot *Complexions*, to make every thing stoop to their *Designs*, because they think every thing ought to bow to their *Merits*; nor will they spare even *Religion* it self, to which they will yet seemingly bend, only to bend it to their *Interest*; and they do most frequently abuse that *Sacred Name*, because by that *Method* they are inabled more easily to abuse others with their well acted *Hypocrisie*, and double-gilt *Dissimulation*: and it being the sole *Prerogative* of Heaven to know mens hearts, their Great *Master-piece* is to cover their *Ambition* with the soft Mantle of *Religion*, and to act that part of their *Lives* so to the *Life*, as rather to out-do the most sincere and innocent, as to what is *visible*, than by any remissness in their outward appearance, to hazard a *discovery* of what lodges within: Nor indeed is it possible to distinguish such *golden Sinners* from the most

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ſplendid Saints, without a narrow conſideration whither their *Deſigns* muſt lead them, and in what they will End; and this is the true *Reaſon* why the innocent and well-meaning among the ordinary rank of *People* are ſo often impoſed upon, ſurpriſed with, and carried on in a good *opinion* of their proud and *Ambitious* Leaders, who cover thoſe horrid *Vices*, with the Glorious *Names* of *Zeal* for the *Lord of Hoſts*, Fervency of *Spirit*, and *Active Piety* for the Cauſe of *God:* for if they would conſider, whither of neceſſity theſe *Principles* of Diſobedience, which they infuſe into them, both againſt their King and their Church, would at the laſt lead them; and of what *nature* the Practiſes are, which are deduced from them; it were impoſſible that *People* ſhould be ſeduced by ſuch *Troops* to adore and almoſt *Deifie* thoſe perſons, whoſe main Deſign is only to ſerve their own preſent *Intereſt*, and the future *Aims* of their *Ambitious Pride.*

But leſt any *Perſon* ſhould think the Expreſſion of *Deifying* too harſh, I can bring Evidence from thoſe who heard it from the perſons mouth that ſpoak it, who affirmed, *That he did believe, that if our Saviour were upon Earth, he could not ſpeak more Heavenly than ſuch a One* (naming the Perſon) *who was then the admired Orator of the Place*; but leſt he ſhould be

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Exalted above meaſure for his Golden and Divine *Talents*, (and to ſhew you how Fickle and Unconſtant theſe *Hoſanna*'s are) it was not long after, that the very ſame *Perſon* who had ſo Exalted him to Heaven, did as much debaſe him; and being an *illiterate Fellow* who could neither Write nor Read, yet he had it ſeems made ſo good uſe of the others Gifts and *Talents* in Preaching and *Extempore Prayer*, that he offer'd to wager 20 *l.* that he would quote *Scripture* with his *Maſter* from *Geneſis* to *Revelations*; and you may be aſſured then, that he would Preach and Pray with him for 40 *l.* having ſo much more confidence of Himſelf and his own Abilities, as he wanted *Learning* to know Himſelf and his own *Deficiencies*.

THE *Nature* of Pride and Ambition is always to Eſtabliſh its own Greatneſs upon the *Ruine* of whatſoever does oppoſe them; and by all ways and means to leſſen others, in order to greaten themſelves; that ſo by trampling upon the necks of their *Enemies*, they may Exalt their own *Power and Eſteem*: and becauſe there is nothing that does Elevate men to that degree of Excellency in the Minds of the *Multitude*, like an *Opinion* of their *Sanctity* and Devotion; therefore it is, that this is the beloved *Ingine* which *Ambitious* Minds make uſe of, to carry on, cover, and effect their own De-

Designs of Greatness, by the assistance of *Popular Tumults*; which they usually inrage like *Elephants*, by shewing them the Scarlet *Robes* both of the *Prince and Priest*, as objects of hatred; to animate and inflame them against those *Sacred Persons* by whom they are worn.

I might confirm this by many Forrein *Instances*, but I rather chuse one at home; both because it nearly concerns us, and ought to make the greater *Impression* upon us: The late Usurper *Cromwel*, was in this Art so perfect and accomplisht, as not to deserve to be undervalued as a *Copy*, but Esteemed an *Original of Pride, Hypocrisie, and Ambition.* One would admire that *People*, who many of them knew the Man and his Conversation; who saw the Curious *Disguise* of his Dissimulation and Flattery thrown off by his own hands; who are sensible how by this only *Artifice* of pretending *Religion* (though by the assistance of their Blood and Money) he threw down the peacable Government both of *Church and State*; how by a bloody *Civil* War, and the Murther of his *Royal Master*, he himself aspired to the *Throne*; and how he Established an *Arbitrary Tyranny*, against which he pretended, and made the *People* believe he fought; and how to the great affliction of all *Parties*, especially the *Presbyterians*, he took away

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one Religion, but ſet up none; nor indeed had any, becauſe he was of all, as they were moſt ſerviceable to his preſent *Intereſt* and *Affairs*: One would (I ſay) admire that thoſe, who though they ſaw not theſe *gloomy Days*, yet have ſufficiently heard of the *Horror* and *Confuſion* of thoſe times, and cannot but believe the truth of the *Relations*, ſhould yet ſwallow down the hook which is baited with *Liberty* and *Sanctity*.

But becauſe it may not be unuſeful in this preſent *Age* (ſo fond of *outward* ſhews) I will give a ſhort *Character* of his *Ambition*, and thoſe Arts by which Heaven for our Sins permitted him (who might well ſtile himſelf with *Tamerlan*, *Flagellum Dei*, *the Scourge and Wrath of God*) to accompliſh his *wicked* Deſigns. Which may be a *Sea-mark* to the Unwary, to take Care of the *Rock*; and not to Credit the charming Voice of the *Syren* hereafter, who therefore ſhews her beautiful Face, and ſings her bewitching *Airs*, that ſhe may more eaſily Effect the deſired *Ship-wrack*.

He was a *Perſon* who in the firſt ſallies of his Youth, was Debauched even to the *Terror* of all the *Villages* of the *Neighbourhood*; who were uſed to give the *Allarm* when they ſaw him at a diſtance, with *Look to your ſelves, here comes Mad* Cromwel;

wel; his great *Frolique* was the Deſtruction of Glaſs Windows, which he perſiſted in to his laſt, beginning with thoſe of Cottages, and not ſparing at laſt thoſe of Churches; when his *Debauchery* only changed the *Name* but not the *Nature*, and one was the Effect of *Wine*, the other of his *Drunken Zeal*. Having run the ſmall *Barque* of his Fortune aground by his profuſion, he begun to think how to get her off again; and finding that impoſſible, he imbarqued himſelf into the Acquaintance and Friendſhip of one *Tims* of *Cambridge*, an Eminently diſaffected perſon to the *King* and *Government*; and being naturally of a quick and ſagacious Spirit, he eaſily found the ſoft place in the head of *Tims*, who was the head of the *Faction* thereabouts; and believing, that if he could but act, a *Convert* to the Life, he might thereby get a Livelyhood, and by ſwimming down their ſtream, buoy up his ſinking Fortune, by fiſhing in the Waters which they troubled; he therefore joyned himſelf to their Congregation: and becauſe his *Reformation* was Miraculous, he did not doubt, but, for the *Credit* he did their powerful *Goſpel*, they would pay him for a *Miracle* of ſo great uſe and advantage for their intended *Reformation*, which being then a brewing, he might be lookt upon as a neceſſary Inſtrument

ſtrument and skilful in the *Trade* of boiling up *Jealouſies and Fears* to the higheſt ſtrength of *Intoxication*: however, he could not doubt, but by his *Credit* amongſt them, and the *Credit* of the *Party*, he might retrieve his paſt Loſſes, and prop up his deſperate *Fortune* by more deſperate *Principles* and Practices. Upon theſe conſiderations he forſook his wild and looſe *Companions*, and with an *Ego non ſum Ego*, reproves them wherever he met them; he compoſes his Habit, his Looks, and Words to the *Tune* of the greateſt Sobriety, Repentance, and *Sanctity*; he frequents the *Meetings*, and Exerciſes of the *Godly*, and there by the ſtrength of his *Natural parts*, and that Learning which the *Univerſity* had unluckily beſtowed upon ſuch a *Crocodile*, he like an apt Scholar quickly learn't from the then *Nonconformiſts*, not only the *Talents* of making Publique and Private *Harangues* againſt the *Biſhops*, and particularly againſt Dr. *Wren* then *Biſhop of Ely*, againſt the Abuſes of the *Government*, the Deſigns of the great Miniſters of State, and the *Prelates*, to introduce *Arbitrary Government*, and ſwallow up Priviledg and Liberty by *Prerogative*, to whiſper the great *Jealouſies and Fears of the Danger of Popery*; but he became miraculous in the Gift of *Extempore Prayer*, in which, by the volubility of his *Tongue*,

and his great Induſtry and Conſtant Practice, he arrived to that perfection as to out-do his *Maſters:* and ſo diligent was he in obtaining and exerciſing this neceſſary *Qualifiation* to recommend him to the diſaffected *Vulgar*, that being then a *Farmer* at *Ely*, he was uſed to ſend for his Plough-men out of the Field, to go to *Duty* with them; and to keep them ſometimes ſo long at it, till other people (having done their Mornings work) were ready to come out of the *Fields*; by which good Husbandry whatever returns he had of his *Prayers*, he had a very ſlender return of his *Seed*, which he ſowed in Tears, but could not reap with Joy; or ſay it came a hundred fold into his Boſom, or his *Barns:* ſo that in a ſhort time *he threw the Plough in the hedge*, (as the Husbandmen ſay) and by the unfortunate breaking out of thoſe Miſunderſtandings between the *King* and his *Parliament* (he being by *Tims*'s Party got into the Houſe of *Commons* as *Burgeſs* for *Cambridge*) and a great Promoter of thoſe Rebellious *Hoſtilities*, he betook himſelf to reap with his Sword in the Field of *Diſloyalty*, that Harveſt of *Treaſon*, which he and his *Confederates* of the *Aſſociation* had been ſo long ſowing in the minds of a Diſcontented *Populace*. He became preſently one of the Heads of that *Combination*; and by his own *Gifts*, and thoſe

thoſe of *Ireton*, and *Peters* (formerly expelled from the *Univerſity* for a *Rakehell*, but now converted by his voyage to *New-England*, and returning to ruine the *Old*, and by deſtroying the *Hierarchy* of the Church, to make himſelf *Oliver's Muphti* ſo ſoon as he ſhould come to be *Englands Grand Signior*) by theſe aſſiſtances, and the *Art of Wheedling* with fair words and long *Prayers*, all Parties, (how different ſo ever in *Perſuaſion*) he advanced himſelf into their *Eſteem*, and by that, into the Affections and Command of the *Rebel Army:* Where by a *Series* of ſtrange ſucceſſes he appear'd the *Favourite* of Heaven, and the *Darling* both of *Fortune* and his *Party*; and having ruin'd the *King* and *Loyal Party*, outwitted the *Presbyterians* and their great *Patrons*, *Eſſex* and *Fairfax*, men of better hands than Heads gently laid them aſide as *Eclipſing* his Glory and Deſigns; he then had the *Game* wholly in his own hand, and arrived at length, by the ſtrength of *Diſſimulation*, Proteſtations, Prayers, and Arms, to the higheſt degree of Supreme, *Arbitrary*, and abſolute *tyranny*; and wanted but little of prophaning the *Imperial Diadem* with his Traiterous Temples.

But what is obſervable of him, after he had pray'd the *Kings Crown* off his head, and his head from his *Body*, and the power

and Revenues of the Crown into his own hands; then the *Spirit* began to fail him, and he left that neceſſary *Gift* which was beneath him (who was now got above all *ordinances*, even of the Houſe of *Commons*) to the management of *Peters*, *Sterry*, and other his Domeſtick *Chaplains*: By which it appears, that he made uſe of *extempore* only *pro tempore*, as a *Straſtagem* to ſerve his own *Deſigns*; and the Sword of the *Spirit* was with him always taught the good breeding, to give the Wall to the *Spirit of the Sword*; Nor was he wont to go to *prayer* with his *Legions*, ſo as to obſtruct the *Duty of the Day*; or to miſs the favourable opportunity of an advantageous ingagement; in the obſervation of which he was a Great *Maſter*, and owed moſt of his Succeſſes rather to his cunning than his *valour*; and therefore, he never went to wraſtle with *God* for *victory*, when a fair occaſion offerd to wraſtle with *the arm of fleſh*.

In ſhort, he made the ſame uſe of this curious *Network* of his pregnant Invention, which'tis ſaid a certain *Cardinal* did of that *Net* which he always uſed to ſpread upon his *Table*; alledging for his humour, that it put him in mind of his *Apoſtolical Function*, which was to be a *Fiſher of Men*, but coming to be poſſeſſed of the *Triple Crown*, the Net was no longer ſeen;

ſeen; and being by an intimate *Confident* demanded what was the Reaſon, that ſince he wore the *Annulum Piſcatoris*, the *Papal* Signet of St. *Peter* the Fiſherman, he had now left off his *Net*? He pleaſantly reply'd, *That now he had got what he had ſo long been fiſhing for.*

Thus did our Engliſh *Maſſaniello*, by the pretence of *Sanctity* and *Non-conformity*, by the help of *long Prayers* and a longer Sword; by the promiſes of *Liberty of Conſcience*, Liberty of the Subject, propagation of *Truth*, and giving the *Goſpel* a free courſe that it might run and be Glorified; by the help of new *Goſpel Lights* and *Revelations* which ſhone in his *Army*; by theſe *Arts* did he advance himſelf to the moſt unlimitted *Power* over Laws, Liberty, Life, Eſtate and Religion, to that degree, that a look from him, like *Plinies Baſilisk*, was death even to his fellow *Snakes*, and as if with *Mithridates* he had liv'd upon *Poyſon*, his very breath was *Mortal*, not only to the *Royal Party*, but to thoſe who had ſometime been of his own; and even to bodies *Politick*, the Conventions which he call'd *Parliaments*, one of which *Aſſemblies*, I remember, exceeding the Limits he had ſet them (a free debate being then no *Priviledg* of *Parliament*) *he ſwore by the Living God* (a *venial ſin* in ſo great a *Saint*) *he would diſſolve them*,

and immediately sent *Collonel Pride*, the constant Friend of his *Ambition*, with the *Janizaries* of his houshold, to put the bow-string of his *Authority* about the neck of the *House*; which, with the resignation of a *Turkish Bashaw*, with, *Such is the will of my Lord*, bowed the head to the execution, and departed that Life without a *Murmur* against his *Highness*, or the lest complaint of breach of *Priviledg*, or his *Oath* to the *Instrument* of Government, that he should not dissolve them in five Months; or his intrenching upon the *Liberties* of a Free-born *People*.

Artic. 3. of the Instrument, that he should not dissolue a Parliament till it had sate 5 Months, this begun Sept. 3. and was dissolved Jan. 10th. 1654.

Tantum potuit Religio Suadere Malorum.

This is a sufficient *Caution* to all People not to trust their Lives, Liberties, Priviledges, or Religion, to the *Protection* of such *Prayers*, and Pretenders to Piety, Zeal, Reformation and Sanctity.

I know such instances are rare, and *Ambition* does not usually prove so fortunate; but this it never fails of, to make the Lives of those with whom it dwells, *uneasie* to themselves and others, and if it happens among men of the Church, it certainly occasions great *Commotions*, the breach of *Peace*, and loss of *Unity*: And if we search the Records of Church-*history*, we shall find that most of the *Schisms and Here-*

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ſies which have occaſioned thoſe Great Diſorders, drew their *Original* from the *Pride* and *Ambition* of the diſcontented *Clergy*: for nothing is more natural than for ſuch Perſons, where want of *Temper* renders them moſt unfit for Government in the Church, to be moſt deſirous of it, and to believe they beſt deſerve it; if they fail in their *Expectations*, which it is more than probable they will, being meaſured by the *Standard* of the Sober and Judicious, and not by their own *flattery* of themſelves, preſently they fall into diſcontent, and endeavour to obtain that Eſteem and *Authority* by unlawful *Methods*, which they could not arrive at in the regular, modeſt, and peaceable ways of *Order* and obedience. This diſcontent puſhes them violently forward, to be revenged of thoſe who, by not advancing them, they think *depreſs* them, or by advancing others, they believe deſpiſe and diſparage them; and at the ſame time they endeavour to ſatisfie their *Ambition* and Revenge by Exalting themſelves.

Now there are no Arts which they can more ſucceſsfully uſe to accompliſh their *deſign*, than theſe which follow.

First, to appear more ſtrict, holy, devout, and righteous, than thoſe whom they call their *Enemies*, who ſhall therefore be thought *ill* themſelves, for not advancing

vancing those who appear so *good:* And by this means they shall certainly be so esteemed by such who look no further, and indeed cannot discover the *Depth* of their hearts, or the secret *malice* that lodges so closely there. This presently creates them a *Name*, and wins them a *Party*, who celebrate their *Fame*, sing *Hosannas* in their Praise, Espouse them, their Interest, and their *Quarrel.*

Secondly, That they may appear more than *common*, and difference their *Party* from the rest, thereby to keep them to themselves, they must broach some new *Doctrine*, or revive some *old one*; there must be an *Altar* erected, and though it be τῷ Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ καὶ ξένῳ; yet will there never want some, who will ignorantly Worship the stranger God, and entertain the *Travelling Deity*; then must the *old Rites* and manner of *Worship* be exploded, to make room for the *New*; and though a man may truly say of them, as our *Saviour* of the *Wine*, *the old is better than the new*, so unsettled, unfermented, and full of mutinous Spirits, that it flies, and froths, and and foams, breaks the *old Bottles* into which it is put; yet will even this *Wine upon the fret*, please some *Capricious Palates* better than the *Old.*

Thirdly, Then all those who oppose them must be exclaimed against, and cry-

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ed *down*; Eſpecially their lawful Superiors and Governors, as *formal* out-of-faſhion-Chriſtians; all endeavours muſt be uſed to rendred them contemptible and *Odious*: And all this muſt be done out of pure *Zeal* to *Truth*; when in reality, it is out of pure Revenge, and for no other Deſign, than that theſe *Ambitious* Spirits may ſatisfie their *Pride*, by obtaining that *Prehe-minence* by fraud and force, which they can never hope for by any other ways.

THIS is the true procedure of *Pride* and *Ambition*, and which leads directly into the *Red Sea of Blood*. I wiſh moſt heartily that all ſober and conſiderative Perſons, who diſſent from the Church of *England*, and even thoſe who are principally guilty of our *Diviſions*, would enter into a ſerious *Examination*, whether there be not ſome of the furious Spirit which our *Saviour* Rebukes in his Diſciples *James* and *John*, which puts them upon Deſiring *fire from Heaven upon ſuch as will not recieve them*, and ſince they cannot obtain that, makes them throw about their own *wild-fire*, to ſet the Church and Common-wealth into a *Blaze*: And to help the Diſcovery, I will give them ſome *Indications* of ſuch a *Spirit*, though lurking never ſo cunningly under the Cloak of *Zeal* and *Piety*. *Luke* 9. 54, 55.

AND firſt therefore, Diſobedience to Lawful

Lawful Authority, and all the ways which manifeſt that Diſobedience, whether Words or Actions, are certain *Symptoms* of the *Pride* of Mens Hearts, and the ſecret *Ambition* of their Minds; for whoſoever diſobeys his Superior, does at the ſame time *deſpiſe* him, and whoſoever deſpiſes any perſon in *Authority*, does it becauſe he is confident he knows more and better what he ought to do, than he who has *Power* to Command him: This is the knowledg which St. *Paul* ſays *puffeth up, but Charity edifieth:* And therefore he ſubjoyns, *If any man think he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know*; that is, if his knowledg occaſions a breach of *Charity*, he does not yet know himſelf, or his *Duty* to *God and Man.* This is ſo clear a Caſe with thoſe of the *Separation*, who break both Charity and Unity, by their Diſobedience, that they muſt ſhut the cleareſt beams of *Truth* out of their Souls, if they do not diſcover it.

1 Cor. 8. 1, 2.

SECONDLY, An obſtinate adherence to any private *Opinion*, whereby the *Peace* of the Church is deſtroyed, eſpecially in things no ways in themſelves *Eſſentially* neceſſary to Salvation, muſt of neceſſity proceed from *Pride*; for why ſhould any perſon prefer his private *Judgment* before the Determination of his *Superiors*, before

fore that of the *Catholick Church* in all Ages? but because he thinks himself wiser and more able to discern what is for the *Publick Good* than all that were before him, or that are above him: though hereby *Solomon* will tell him from the *Spirit* of *God*, that he only purchases the *Character* of a Fool; *The way of a Fool is right in his own eyes, but he that hearkeneth unto Counsel is wise.* Prov. 12. 15. And therefore the *Prophet* pronounceth a *Woe* against such, *Woe unto those that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight.* Esa. 5. 21. Which must be meant of *private persons*, for the *Wisdom* of Superiors is not so much their own, as the *Wisdom* of all former *Ages*: and for this Reason St. *Paul* commands, *Be of the same mind, mind not high things* (prompted by Pride or Ambition) *but condescend to men of low Estate*; (much more to those of high) *be not wise in your own conceit.* Rom. 12. 16. And for Encouragement to this kind of *Private Wisdom*, once more hear *Wisdom* it self speak by the *wise man. Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit, there is more hope of a Fool than of him.* Prov. 26. 12. And it is impossible to give any other Reason, why men should not submit to *Truth* and their Superiors, when they may be sensible to a demonstration from Reason, Scripture, and Experience, that their private *Opinions* are unlawful, because dangerous,

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contrary to *Charity*, and Gods Command: but becauſe they think ſuch a Submiſſion a *Retractation*, or Compliance with Authority would be a leſſening of them, as to that *Opinion* for Wiſdom and Sanctity, which others attribute to them; and that dangerous *Flatterer Pride*, perſwades them they are *Maſters* of.

THIRDLY, To indeavour to ſtrengthen themſelves by making a *Party*, to ſecure them in their Diſobedience and Obſtinacy, is the certain and unſeparable *Symptom* of *Ambition*, as well as *Pride*: for if I diſlike any thing, I may do ſo to my ſelf, but to perſwade others to it, muſt have reſpect to a further *Deſign*, and declares that I intend not only to own my Diſobedience, but to juſtifie and maintain it by *Power*. The beſt Men in the World may *Err* privately, but it is to be ſuſpected they are the worſt, who make their *Errors Publique*, to draw Diſciples after them; by Diſobedience a man *Equals* himſelf to his *Superiors*, for it is a plain denying their *Authority* over him; by *Obſtinacy* he ſhews his intention to ſtand his *Ground*, and make good his *Incroachment* upon their *Power*; and by his making of a *Party* he does as it were make ſecret *Levies*, and inrols a *Militia* to defend himſelf from the Power of his Superiors, and looks as if he meant to ſtruggle with them not only for Precedence but *Dominion*.

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I wiſh theſe were only *Suppoſitions*, and that we could not from woful *Experience* ſay they are but too true: but it was this very way that lately laid the *Crown* as well as the *Mitre* in the *Duſt*, too lately to give us the leaſt reaſon to doubt, that the ſame *Methods* may do it again, if not in time prevented, either by the vigilance of *Authority*, or by reducing the diſorderly and diſobedient to the *Wiſdom of the Juſt*; and by informing their Underſtandings, to oblige them voluntarily to abandon thoſe *Men* and *Principles*, whoſe Practices will infallibly lead them to theſe *Concluſions*; or oblige Authority by the utmoſt *Severities* of Laws, to prevent the Danger and *Ruine* of the whole *Frame* of Government both in Church and State.

And as *Pride* and *Ambition* are but too viſible amongſt the *Principles* of Diſſention amongſt us, and the principal Obſtacles of our *Peace* and *Unity*, ſo are they no leſs Obſtructions to a Reconciliation with the *Roman Church*; for it is the *Ambition* of *Supremacy* over all other Churches, and over all *Temporal* Powers, and even over our Faith it ſelf, the incommunicable *Prerogative* of our bleſſed Jeſus, *the Author and Finiſher of our Faith*, which has render'd all *Reunion* with them not only dangerous, but *impoſſible*, unleſs we will reſolve, by believing as that *Church* believes, to diſbelieve not *Heb.* 12. 2.

not only our Sense and Reason, but *Scripture* and all *Antiquity*; and not only those, but *God* himself, who has given us them to assist us in our *Faith*.

It is the *Ambition* of the *Clergy* which obliges them to keep the *Laity* in Ignorance, so blind, that they are not permitted to inquire, or doubt. And for the *Clergy*, as before was observed in the point of *Interest*, they are constantly fed with the nourishment of *Ambitious* Thoughts, hopes of Dignities and Promotions: The meanest *Priest* or *Recluse* may come to be head of his *House*, Superior, and after *General* of his *Order*; a *Prior* or *Abbot*; and it may be a *Bishop*: the *Bishop* may advance the *Mitre* to the Honour of a *Cardinals Hat*, and the *Red Hat* may turn to the *Triple Mitre*; and all this by being a Zealous Maintainer of the Usurped Power of that *Church*, justifying her Incroachments upon the *Crowns of Princes*, and the *Mitres* of all other *Bishops*, *Primates*, *Metropolitans*, and *Patriarchs*, owning her *Monopoly* of the Word *Catholique*, avowing her *Canonical* and Decreed *Errors for Rules of Faith* and Manners, and divulging her fictitious *Collusions* for real *Miracles*, though to the hazard of rendring the true ones of *Christ* and his *Apostles* suspected, upon which the sole confirmation of our *Religion* depends. These are the *Stairs* by

by which men aſcend to the *Papal* Dignity, which now out-flies the *Imperial Eagle* as well as the ſmaller *Royal Birds of Majeſty*:

Et Caput inter Nubila condit.

for to oppoſe any of theſe, is a certain way to be prefer'd to the *Torments* of the *Inquiſition*, to be branded with *Hereſie* and *Apoſtacy*, and to Expire in *Flames* and Torments.

So that I hope by this time, it is evident how perniciouſly powerful the Principles of *Intereſt* and *Prejudice*, *Cuſtom* and Education, Pride and *Ambition* are in the Minds of Men, to hinder them from Embracing *Truth*, and her Beautiful Children *Peace* and *Unity*.

To theſe I might add *Envy*, the *Canker* of the Mind; the daughter of *Diſcontent*, and conſtant Enemy of *Peace*, *Covetouſneſs* the Root of all Evil. *Envy* being the ſhadow of *Honour* and real Worth; and *Sacrilegious Covetouſneſs*, the Ravenous *Harpie*, that preys upon the ſmall *Patrimony* of the Church; which uſually is the great perſwaſive to prophane and Rapacious *Natures* to treat her, as the *Atheiſtical Dionyſius* did his *Apollo*, who rob'd him of his golden *Robe*, alledging it was too cold for his *Godſhip* in Winter, and too *heavy* in Summer; but becauſe theſe Fall in with *Intereſt* and *Ambition*, I will not under different *Names* repeat the ſame things over again, to nauſeat the *Judicious*, and tire

tire the indifferent *Reader* with reiterated *Tautologies.*

Chap. V.

Having thus ſhewn what it is that impedes our *Happineſs*, and which therefore muſt of neceſſity be removed from the Minds of Men, before there can be any Poſſibility of their Embracing *Truth*, Unity, and Charity; in the next place we come to manifeſt the neceſſity of *Union*, the only Expedient which can procure the Common Happineſs of Mankind.

Now to make this appear, we muſt look into the Main End and *Deſign* of all Religion here in this *Mortal* State of Life, in order to that future Condition of a Glorious *Immortality:* and that we may the better apprehend what that is, we muſt conſider the Commands and Precepts of *Religion*, and at what they aim. And becauſe all the *Rules* of our *Holy Profeſſion* direct us to it, we muſt believe that *God Almighty* gave us thoſe *Precepts*, Rules, and Directions, to promote our own and the Common Happineſs of all *Mankind*, even here in this preſent *State* of Life; to render our ſhort Journey through the troubleſom Stage of *Time*, more pleaſant and eaſy, till we arrive at the unchangeable Happineſs of *Eternity.* This *Eaſineſs* of Mind,

Mind, this real Happineſs of Life is only to be obtain'd by following the precepts of *Juſtice*, Temperance, Sobriety, Prudence, and the other *Noble* and *God-like Vertues* which Religion teaches; for the ſubſtance of Happineſs does not conſiſt in any thing without us (though there are good Circumſtances) but in the *Innocency* of Mind, and purity of Life;

Nil Conſcire ſibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ.

in our being good, and doing good; which is the great *Employment* for which we came into the *World*. So that there is a neceſſity of *Religion* in the *World* in order to the happy *poſture* of humane affairs, which all *Mankind* deſire for themſelves, with unlimited *wiſhes*; but are too narrow in their indeavors to promote it in *Common* unto others. That this was the *Wiſe* and good Deſign of the great *Creator*, is moſt apparent, in that, even in thoſe obſcure *Ages* of *Barbariſm* and Ignorance, at which the *Apoſtles* ſays *God was pleaſed to wink, yet he left not himſelf without a Witneſs: When in times paſt he ſuffered all men to walk in their own ways, they* were not without ſome Religion, which taught them their Duty in ſome Meaſure (though imperfect) both to the Gods (for they ſuppoſed many) and alſo to Men. *Act.* 14. 16, 17.

THAT muſt of *Neceſſity* therefore be the

trueſt *Religion*, and moſt agreeable to the Will of God, which approaches neareſt to this Great *Deſign*; and would certainly accompliſh the *End* for which all Religion was intended: And therefore the truth of any *Religion* muſt be meaſured according to the *Proportion* which it holds to promoting Peace, Unity, and Charity, the only ways to obtain happineſs in this *World*, as well as *Faith* whereby we hope to obtain the happineſs of a *future ſtate*: And what Religion ſoever ſeparates theſe *Good Works* from *Faith*, is ſo far *vain*, and deſtroys that *Faith* it ſeems to profeſs; for *Faith without Works is dead*. If therefore any *Religion* ruines Peace, Unity, and Charity, we muſt judg it ſo far falſe and *erroneous*, let it make never ſo many Boaſts of holding the true *Faith* of *Chriſt*. Of all the *Religions* which ever were in the *World*, the *Chriſtian Doctrine* may juſtly challenge the Preheminence, as conducting men, if they would be managed by it, the neareſt way to Happineſs both *Temporal* and *Eternal*; and among all the variety of *Opinions* in the *Chriſtian Religion*, that muſt therefore of neceſſity be the beſt and trueſt, which does moſt powerfully promote innocency of Life, purity of Mind, Unity, and univerſal Peace; not by external force and violence, but by the ſame *Methods* which *God Almighty* made

made use of to plant and propagate it in the *World*; which was not by Tumults, Seditions, or Disobedience to the *Civil Magistrate*, but by meekness, humility, Charity, and a Conversation unblameable: Which were the Weapons by which the *Primitive* Christians were taught *to put to silence the ignorance of foolish Men:* The Church indeed had a power, but it was purely *Spiritual*, and those spiritual Arms were the most powerful to the pulling down and dismantling the strong holds of *Sin*; and therefore even while the *Temporal Powers* of the Earth did all they could to suppress them, yet mightily did the Word of *God* grow and increase, not by opposing, *Rebelling*, or imposing Laws upon their *Soveraigns*, but by submitting and suffering, demonstrating upon all occasions their *Innocence*, and that they were free from any ill designs upon the *Civil* Government of the *World*, or the *Temporal* concerns of Mankind.

But because all and every Profession of Christian *Religion*, every Church would have us beleive this of them; and that therefore, every one Challenges the name of the true *Church of Christ*, here lies the *Difficulty* and the niceness of the Point; Which is the best and truest? And because all desire the *Glorious Title*, therefore they quarrel about it, who it is that is the Spouse

of Christ? Whereas one would *Modestly* believe, that to be without Spot and Wrinkle, is not to be appropriated to any particular *Church*, in which there must be Tares and Chaff, as well as Wheat, but to the *Holy Catholick Church* (I do not mean of *Rome*; for She is but one Member) that glorious Company of true Believers, the *General Assembly* of the Church, which have been, and shall be in all *Ages* of the *World*, and out of all *Nations*, united unto *Christ* their *Head*.

A *Church* may be a true and a visible Church of Christ, and yet have many *Errors*; and so long as they keep the foundation of *Faith*, though they may build Hay and Stubble upon that Foundation, yet I do not see how they can be denyed that *Name*. Thus we see St. *Paul* writes to the Church of God, which is at *Corinth*, *to them that are Sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints:* And yet in that very *Epistle* he Complains of great *Errors* and Disorders among them, and an Abuse of the very *Sacrament* of the *Lords Supper:* and so to the Church of the *Galatians*, and yet he tartly calls them *foolish Galatians*, and tells them they were bewitched into this Disobedience against the Truth, and that he was affraid he had bestowed upon them Labour in Vain; for that they were relapsing to *Judaism*, and to the observing

1 Cor. 1. 2.

Cap. 11.

ſerving of Days and Years according to the *Moſaick Law.*

THIS has been a Conſtant *Quarrel* amongſt Chriſtians, this bred thoſe Mortal Diviſions betwixt the *Eaſtern* and the *Weſtern* Churches, which has almoſt intirely ruin'd one of them, and not advantaged the other as to *Truth*; for whileſt both pretended to be the only true Church of Chriſt, by that excluſive *Arrogance*, they were both ſo far Falſe; and this Unlawful *claim* was the Mother of the Doctrine of *Infallibility* in the Catholique Church, which if it be underſtood of any particular *company* of Men, and not of the whole *Body* of the Faithful, which are in all Churches, have been, or ſhall be guided by the Spirit of *God* into all truth, muſt be Falſe; for whoever is infallible, muſt be without *Sin*, which none can be in this imperfect *State. For if we ſay we have no Sin, we deceive our ſelves, and the Truth is not in us*; and the *Maxim* is undoubtedly true, *Quod predicatur de ſingulis univerſalium, predicatur etiam de univerſalibus ſingularium*; If all men are *Sinners*, they are *fallible*, & if every man is a *Sinner*, then are all men, here in this *Mortal State.* So that if men would with *Juſtice* and Modeſty allow degrees of *Truth*, and that every Church poſſeſſed ſome, ſo long as they retain the *foundation of one only true God and*

Jesus Christ, whom he has sent, whom to know is Life eternal; if they would strive more for *Peace* and *Purity* than for this *Supremacy*, and impossibility of being the only true *Church*, they would certainly have more *Truth*, because more Charity, Peace & *Unity*.

THERE were Seven Churches in *Asia*, (though now nothing but the *Names*, and those scarce Legible in their Ruins) to which our blessed *Lord* commands St. *John* to write. *What thou seest write, in a Book, and send it to the seven Churches which are in* Asia; *unto* Ephesus, *and unto* Smyrna, *and unto* Pergamos, *and unto* Thyatira, *and unto* Sardis, *and unto* Philadelphia, *and unto* Laodicea. Every Church was a *Golden Candlestick*, and every one had a *Star*, which was the *Angel Guardian*, or Governour of the *Church*, and which Christ held in his right hand. These *Candlesticks* were all of *Gold*, but some more refined and purer *Mettal* than others; the *Stars* were all bright and shining, but some more dim and obscure than others: *for one star exceeded another star in glory*, even in the Firmament of the Church, as well as in Heaven. And doubtless if that place be true, shall hereafter, for so is the Resurrection of the Dead. From this *Instance* of the Seven Churches, these Deductions seem evidently to follow.

Rev. 1, 2, 3 *Chapters.*

1 *Cor.* 15. 41, 42.

FIRST, That several *Nations* are several Di-

Diſtinct, *Coordinate* (not ſubordinate) Churches: for ſo the *Son of God* calls theſe Seven, which yet were compriſed in the leſſer *Aſia*, and People of one Language, though of diſtinct and ſeparate *Polities*, which ſeems to be that which differences Nations, and not *Languages*.

SECONDLY, That diſtinct, and ſeveral *Coordinate* Churches, may all be true Churches, and *United* in the Common Bond of the ſame *Faith*, and *Charity*, who yet may not be of equal *Purity*: two only are here commended for their *Purity*, viz. *Smyrna*, and *Philadelphia*; the other are condemned; *Epheſus*, for having forſaken her firſt Love, her *Zeal* and Devotion: *Pergamos*, for the Doctrine of *Balaam*, and for ſuffering the odious Sect of the *Nicolaitans*: *Thyatira*, for ſuffering *Jezebel*, a woman to teach, contrary to the Expreſs Command of God, and therefore to ſeduce the People, by eating things offered to *Idols*: *Sardis*, for having a name to live, but being dead: *Loadicea*, for being lukewarm neither hot nor cold, a Church of *Latitudinarians*: all theſe are threatned and reproved, but not rejected from the name and being of *Churches*.

THIRDLY, That the holy *Catholique Church* is compoſed of ſeveral diſtinct *National* Churches; for we muſt not think the *Son of God* could be guilty of an im-

propriety of Speech; he distinguishes them by the places where they were planted, and by their degrees of *Purity*, as so many several Churches, without giving them any precedency or preheminence one over another: he does not direct the *Angels* of the several Churches, to *Rome*, or *Alexandria*, or *Jerusalem*, or *Antioch* (though all then famous Churches) for redress of their *Errors*; he does not send them to St. *Peter*, or his Successors, the *Catholique*, *Apostolique*, *Roman Church*, as the *Pillar* and Ground of *Truth*; not a word of the *Sancta Sedes Apostolica*, *Petri Cathedra*, *Ecclesia Principalis*, nothing of the *Romanorum Fides*, *ad quos perfidia habere non potest accessum*, which place of St. *Cyprian* the *Romanists* boast so much of, whilest they indeavour to appropriate the word *Catholique* only to their Church; which is as good sense as that any one man is humane *Nature*. But for the redress of their *Errors*, amendment of their Lives, and reformation of their false *Doctrines*, he gives them all this short *Direction*; *He that hath an Ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches*; and that to every one of them distinctly; so that what the Spirit of God speaks to the Churches, was to be the *Rule of Faith*, Life, and Doctrine: and what was it which the Spirit spake unto the Churches? was

was ever any *Tradition* ſaid to be ſpoken by the *Holy Spirit?* No certainly, nothing was ever ſpoken by the *Spirit* to the Churches, but the Books of the *Holy Canon*, which all Ages have conſented to, without the leaſt *Addition or Diminution* (as the late Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *Coſins*, has made appear more diſtinctly) till ſuch time as the *Abſolutiſſima Synodus Tridentina*, as they call the *Trent* Seſſion, for ſome paſſages which ſeem favourable to *Purgatory*, *and Prayers for the Dead*, was pleaſed to adopt theſe into the *Holy Canon*; though nothing is more evident than that till then they were Eſteemed only Humane Writings, and *Apocryphal:* however hereby they have given a *Specimen* of the Power they pretend over our *Faith*; for by the ſame *Authority* they may impoſe *Æſops Fables*, and the *Alchoran*, as matters of *Faith*. Neither did the ancient Churches, when *Hereſies* ſprung up, reſort to *Rome* for infallible Determinations, but to *Oecumenical* and *General Councels*, not Eſteeming their Determinations valid neither, unleſs agreeable to the *Holy Scripture*, which was always accounted the *Norma*, or *Rule* by which they were to be guided: and at which *Councels* the *Pope* did aſſiſt, not as the *Head*, but as a *Principal* Member; and the reſpect he had given him was as *Patriarch* of the *Imperial City*, and the Weſtern

ſtern Churches, and not as *Monarch* of the whole *Catholick Church*; and even ſome later *Councels*, as that of *Baſil*, have undertaken to reform *Errors* and Abuſes, and to depoſe the *Pope*, being found guilty of them.

LASTLY, It may from hence be concluded, That *Chriſt* himſelf is the only head of the *Catholick Church*, which is compoſed of ſeveral diſtinct *Churches*, who are all Members of that *Myſtical Body*: he walks among the *Candleſticks*, he holds the *Stars* in his right hand; The *Angel* of every diſtinct *National* Church is to be the mover of the *Orb*, to guide it by the Light of *Divine Truth* ſpoken by the *Spirit* of the Churches; the *Temporal Power* may be Supreme *Head* of the Church, as they are a *Society* of Chriſtian Men; but neither the one nor the other, can juſtly pretend a Power over the *Angel* of another Church, or the Dominions of another *Prince*; for that is the *Prerogative* of the Son of God, who Unites them in his Right hand, and who alone can challenge the *Title* of that Name of *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.*

NOR will this *Independency* of Churches one upon another, which is only in point of *Juriſdiction* and Limits, which was anciently practiced and commanded by the *Decrees* of Councels, give the leaſt diſturbance

bance to their Charity and *Union*; ſo long as they maintain the ſame Univerſal Doctrine of *Faith* as to the ſubſtance, and all acknowledge one *Catholique Church*, and themſelves Members of it. Nay, it is obſervable that this incroachment of the greater Churches upon the leſs, and indeavouring to aggrandize themſelves, by impoſing upon all other Churches a *Soveraignty* and Dominion never intended for Chriſtian Religion, and ſtriving by force to oblige them to uſe their *Rites* and *Ceremonies* in indifferent Circumſtantials; and not only ſo, but to receive all their *Opinions* as matters of *Faith*, were the firſt occaſion of the moſt remarkable *Schiſms* and Diviſions, and the loſs of Peace and Unity; and ſtill continue ſo to this very day. Whereas, did they all reſolve to content themſelves with their own *Precincts*, and not indeavour Ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπεῖν, and act out of their own *Provinces*, but would permit others to make uſe of ſuch indifferent *Rites* as the Governours of the ſeveral Churches judge neceſſary and expedient in their reſpective Charges; and if any Controverſies ſhould ariſe in *Point* of Doctrine, reſolve amicably to compoſe them, by hearing what the *Spirit* ſaith to the Churches, and how the Univerſal Church has already determined in the ſame or like Affairs, according to the *Rule*

of

of Scripture; would they ſtudy more to propagate *Peace and Unity*, than Dominion and Soveraignty, to increaſe *Piety* and *Purity* of Life, more than outward agreement of *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, the ancient Happineſs of the Church in her firſt and *Unambitious Age*, (when the *Office* of Government was the ſureſt way to *Martyrdom*) would in a great meaſure be reſtored to the Members of the *Catholique Church*; and there would be that *Unity* which is by *God* Commanded, and by all good *Chriſtians* not only to be deſired, but promoted to the uttermoſt of their *Power*.

Were it poſſible that this true and ancient *Temper*, Modeſty and Moderation of *Primitive Chriſtianity*, might obtain in the *World*, the *Names* of diſtinction, with the occaſions of them would be taken away; one would not be of *Paul*, another of *Apollos*, another of *Cephas*, one a *Romaniſt*, another a *Calviniſt*, *Lutheran*, *Hugonot*, or a *Zuinglian*, but all would be of *Chriſt*; but alas! what hope? ſo long as the Church of *Rome* will be *Univerſal*, and will exclude all thoſe who Refuſe the *tyranique Yoak* of both her Declared, and *Implicit Faith*; and to be ſubject to her abſolute *Dominion*; not only from the *Name* of Churches, and being Parts of the Church Univerſal, but from the *Communion of Saints*, from all hopes of the *Reſurrection of the juſt*, nay, even from her

her *Purgatory* too, (which is very ſevere, if there be ſuch a place as admits of Hope for Sinners after *Death*) and in a word, from all poſſibility of the *Life everlaſting*.

How different is this from the ancient *Charity* and Doctrine of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, whom they believe the Founders of their *Church*, for they incourage us to hope we may receive the Benefit of the Common Salvation; for *God is no reſpecter of Perſons, but in every Nation he that feareth him and worketh Righteouſneſs, is accepted of him: for with him there are no Diſtinctions, neither Greek, nor Jew, Circumciſion nor Uncircumciſion, Barbarian, Scythian, Bond nor Free, but all are Chriſts, who have put on as the Elect of God, holy, and beloved, bowels of Mercy, kindneſs, humbleneſs of Mind, meekneſs, long-ſuffering, forbearance one of another, and forgiveneſs one towards another, if there be differences, as Chriſt alſo forgave us, and above all things they who have put on Charity, which is the bond of Perfection, and whoſe Hearts are ruled by the Peace of God.* Act. 10. 35. Col. 3. 11. to v. 16.

But in regard that this is to be diſpair'd of, and may well ſeem forreign to the Deſign of theſe *Papers*, let us come to conſider what *Influence* this ought to have upon us as to *Unity* amongſt our ſelves, which (with-

(without Excluding our Neighbours from our Charity, though they do us from theirs, and Heaven) is the principal Intention of this *Discourse*.

Chap. VI.

Having shewn that the *Peace* and *Unity* of the *Catholick Church Militant* upon Earth depends in a great Measure upon this *Justice*, in preserving the Common *Faith of Christ* as the bond of *Union*, not only among our selves, but with that part of the Church which is now *Triumphant* in Heaven, and in order thereunto, in allowing every distinct and *National* Church their particular Bounds and *Jurisdiction* free from Incroachments and Invasion, permitting them a freedom of Using such *Rites* and Customs in the *Celebration* of *Divine* Worship, as the Governors of each respective *Church* shall judge to be nearest the *Rule of Scripture*, the Constant Usage and Determination of the *Catholique Church* in the best *Ages*, and of the best Men in all; most conducive to the Great End of all *Religion*, by promoting the Happiness of Mankind both here and hereafter: before we proceed any further, it will be requisite to answer what may and will be certainly objected by all *Dissenters*.

For,

For, if an *Independency* of Churches of Distinct *Nations* and *Polities*, so long as they agree in matters of *Faith*, may be permitted a distinct *Jurisdiction*, different *Rites* and manner of *Worship*, to the increase of Charity, Peace, and Unity, why may not the same be likewise practised by several *Churches* in the same *Nation*?

To which I answer, That as *Unity* in point of *Faith* is the Bond of *Union* in the *Universal Church*, so *Obedience* to the Supreme Government of any *Nation*, is that which *Unites* them into one *Polity*, and distinguishes them from all other *People* who do not own that Subjection and Obedience: And this *Union* of Obedience is also that which preserves and maintains them, as well as Constitutes them a distinct *Political Body* from all other *Nations*. Herein lies their Strength, herein their Security, their Safety and Happiness. For as I may be Lawfully permitted to disobey the *King* of *Spain*, or *France*; nay, and ought to do it in many Cases for the *Interest* of my *Nation*, but cannot disobey my *Natural Prince*, but to the prejudice of my *Countrey* and my own, because I owe them no Obedience in point of Jurisdiction, as I do my own *King*. So I may for the same *Reason* refuse the Jurisdiction of a Forrein *Church*, but cannot of my own, which has a lawful Power over me, and

and to which I owe *Obedience*, becauſe I am a Member of her *Polity*. For every perſon, and all Perſons who live in the *World*, muſt own a Subjection to the Government where they live, and becauſe that affords them *Protection*, therefore they are to pay their *Obedience*, both as a Duty of Gratitude, the Foundation of *Society*, and the *Intereſt* they have to maintain that Government and Power which does protect, ſecure, and defend their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates; and in effect, all the Happineſs of *Humane Life*.

Now ſince the Light of *Nature*, *Reaſon*, and *Intereſt* does oblige all men to own this as a neceſſary *Truth*, and thoſe who have oppoſed it, have ever been eſteemed the common Enemies of all *Mankind*, *Traitors* not only to the Government they have oppoſed, but to the Foundation and Principles of all *Society*, and to the happineſs of Mankind in general: Therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary in any diſtinct *Society* of Men, that the Circumſtances of *Religion* (for the Subſtance of *Faith* is not in the power of any *Mortal man* to Alter or Eſtabliſh) ſhould be adapted to the attainment of this Common *Deſign* of all Government both *Civil and Religious*; the Happineſs of the *Society*: But this is impoſſible to be effected where there are many diſtinct Churches in the ſame *Society*.

ciety? For either the Supreme *Authority* has Power over them all, or over none at all; if none at all, the *Society* is ruin'd, and he is no longer *King*, nor they own themſelves his Subjects, who deny his Authority; and that they owe him obedience if he has Power over them, it muſt be in Circumſtantials of Government, Order, and the manner of *Divine Worſhip*. Now either he can command them to perform theſe all one way, and then they are no longer diſtinct *Churches*, but the ſame; or he cannot lawfully command them, nor are they bound to *Obey*; and ſo he is no longer their *King*, nor they his *Subjects*, then he obliges them by parting with his *Soveraignty*, and they pleaſe (upon that Condition that he permits them to do what they pleaſe) to afford him their *Subjection*. So that in effect, diſtinct Churches, and Independent upon the *Soveraign* in the ſame *Nation*, which is one intire *Body Politick*, are ſo many Spiritual *Electors* of *Germany*, who own an *Emperor* in Name, but are abſolute in Reality, and Soveraigns within their own Territories and *Dominions*.

Besides, there is ſo near a Connection between all Temporal and Religious *Laws*, the Laws of Men having their Foundation and Stability from the *Original Laws of God*; and being only Lawful ſo

far as they are agreeable to them, that it is impoſſible for the moſt *Nice Curioſity* to diſtinguiſh the Limits of theſe two *Powers*, the Temporal and the Spiritual. Now if we ſuppoſe ſeveral diſtinct *Independent* Churches in one *Nation*, we muſt ſuppoſe them to have diſtinct Forms of Government, and it will be impoſſible for the *Prince* to make any Temporal *Law*, which ſome of them may not pretend is againſt their *Juriſdiction*; Let it be to raiſe Men or Money for the common Defence of all by *War*, it may be an eaſy *Scruple* whether the *War* be Lawful? whether that be his *Intention*? whether it be for the *Common Benefit*; and according as theſe diſtinct Churches judg it Lawful or *Religious*, Safe or Dangerous, ſo ſhall he receive their aſſiſtance; So far and no farther goes their *Obedience*; A too viſible Effect, of which, it is to be feared we have at preſent, when theſe *Churches* and their *Juriſdiction* is not by *Law* permitted; and what might we expect, if this *Power* which they challenge were either *Tolerated*, or by *Law* Eſtabliſhed? So that if Obedience be a neceſſary *Duty*, both *Civil* and Religious, in order to the Happineſs of any *Society* or *Nation*, one Church owning that Subjection and Obedience in point of Government (not of *Faith*) is neceſſarily to be Eſtabliſhed in that *Society* and

Nation

Nation. But I ſhall diſcourſe more fully upon this Particular hereafter, and therefore refer the *Reader* thither; only I deſire it may be taken notice of, that the Deſign and Quarrel of all Diſſenting *Parties*, however they may pretend only purely *Spirituals*, *Conſcience*, and *Religion*, yet ends in the pretence to *Soveraignty* and Dominion; and though it talks only of the *Altar*, yet is level'd at the *Throne*; and that therefore the *Church of England*, which makes not the leaſt pretentions to the prejudice of the *Princes Right*, but by her *Doctrine* and her *Practices* teaches Humility, Obedience, and Submiſſion to the *Prince*, renders her true Sons the beſt of *Subjects*, as well as the beſt of *Chriſtians*; and that nothing but *Unity* in Government can teach men rightly to *Honour the King, as Unity in Faith teaches them truly to fear God*, and be true Members of the *Holy Catholique Church.*

But ſecondly, It will be Objected, That by this *Poſition* of the Neceſſity of *Unity* in Government, and Uniformity of *Worſhip*, in *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, in a *National Church*, Men will be obliged to ſubmit to thoſe things which are againſt their *Conſciences.*

For anſwer to this at large, I refer them to a ſmall Treatiſe Intitled *The true Liberty and Dominion of Conſcience*, where

they may ſee how they impoſe upon themſelves and others, by obtruding upon them *Private Opinion* or *perſwaſion* for *Conſcience*; for unleſs they be certain by *Divine Revelation* of clear *Scripture*, or conſequence of *Scripture* which will not admit of a Doubt, that the things impoſed are Unlawful; *Conſcience* is not concerned in them, and it is only their *Opinion*, which ought to ſubmit to *Publique Peace*, and Government, which are clear and evident Commands of *God*. If the things commanded are Unlawful, ſhew us the Prohibition: If they be not Unlawful, they may be impoſed; for any man may by *Authority* be lawfully commanded to do what is *Lawful*, for the obtaining *Peace* and Happineſs to himſelf and all others of the ſame *Society*; Nay he is bound in *Conſcience* to do it.

But for a further ſatisfaction, and a ſhort Anſwer, I deſire it may be conſidered, that every ſubmiſſion to the Judgment and practice of another who is of a different *Opinion*, is not an *Error*, if the thing be indifferent about which we diſagree; and that I may without offending my *Conſcience*, do what I am commanded, though in my private Judgment I do not approve of it, if by doing of it I promote *Peace*, and ſhew my Obedience: For where the *Queſtion* is, whether by not doing

ing this, I ſhall obey my own *Judgment*, which doubts whether I may do it Lawfully; or diſobey that *Power* which commands me to do it, which I cannot deny but has a Lawful power to command me? The Reſolution is eaſy; for I am not by my obedience to a *private* doubt, to break a known *Command of God*, who commands Obedience to my Superiors in all things which are not contrary to his *commands*; and whether we ſhould obey *God* or *Man*, our ſelves or the *Magiſtrates* and Rulers of of the Church, is no ſuch hard *Queſtion* as ſome *people* have made it.

Besides, Though wilful Errors in *Faith* are Damnable, yet *Errors* in Circumſtances neither are nor can be ſo, unleſs we make them ſo our ſelves by Diſobedience to *God*, in refuſing for *Peace* and *Unity* to ſubmit to our Superiors, which is *Damnable*. Nor indeed can any of the ſeveral *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of *Religion* be properly called *Errors*, though they be different, nay contrary one to another: For where there is no *poſitive* Command of *God* to Determine us, either part is lawful or unlawful, only according as it is commanded or forbidden by thoſe who are in *Authority*; and if it be not determined by them, then as we in our own *Judgment* ſhall be perſwaded, that is conducive to *Gods Glory* and the Happineſs of

Mankind. For whether I ſhould pray in a *Surplice*, or in a *Cloak*, is not a point of *Salvation*; for I may do it with either, or neither, and yet go to Heaven; but Diſobedience to my Lawful Superiors, ſhould they command me to pray to *God* in *Publique*, in either of them, is an *Error* in *Faith*; for who ever is guilty of that Diſobedience, muſt either believe that *God* is not the *Author* of that Command, or that it is not true, which is *Infidelity and Error.* Now let any perſon of Sobriety *Judg* whether ſuch a *Conſcience* is a good *Conſcience*, and void of offence to *God* and Men, which will ſtrain at the *Gnat* of an indifferent *Ceremony*, and ſwallow the *Camel* of Diſobedience? And whether all good Chriſtians ought not to joyn with the *National* Church in ſuch *Ceremonies* and manners of *Worſhip*, as admitting them to be as bad as any *Ceremonies* can be, which are not *Damnable*, rather than by endeavouring to avoid them, and refuſing to uſe them, to run the certain *Hazzard* of ruining the *Peace* of the Church and *Nation*, and certain *Damnation*, by their Diſobedience to the Command of *God?*

I deſire to make this as clear as I can; and therefore we will Inſtance in the *ſign of the Croſs after Baptiſm*; This *Ceremony* is by many ſo much abhorred, that they will rather not have their *Children* received into the

the Covenant of *Grace* by *Baptiſm*, or (which is the ſame thing) have the *Sacrament* from thoſe who, having no lawful *Ordination*, have therefore no Commiſſion *to go and Baptize all Nations:* Now, ſuppoſing the ſign of the *Croſs* after Baptiſm a ſuperfluous or ſuperſtitious *Ceremony* (which yet will never be proved as by the *Church* explained in the *Office* of *Baptiſm*, and the 30 *Canon*) yet ſtill the Uſe of it could not be injurious to Salvation, or *Damnable*, becauſe it is no where in *Scripture* forbidden; nor ever aſſerted to be *Eſſential* to the *Sacrament*; Nor condemned by either *Councels*, or the Practice of the *Church* in any *Age*, but frequently uſed by the *Primitive Chriſtians*, both upon that and many other Occaſions: what a man may do without fear of *Damnation*, he may do ſafely; nor is he to be judge of the Expedience or edifyingneſs of the *Ceremony*; for who made any private man a *Judge* over others? that very capacity Excludes him from that *Power*. But for any perſon to refuſe to have his Child Baptized, becauſe of this *Ceremony*, or to refuſe to obey his Superiors, is to make himſelf a *Judge* over them, and a damnable Sin: *Waſhing with Water in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt*, is the *Eſſence* of the *Sacrament*, but there are ſome Prayers to be made; *For* 1 Tim. 4. 5.

every Creature of God is ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer, ſome Geſtures, ſome *Poſtures* to be uſed in ſuch a weighty *Solemnity*, ſome Praiſes due for ſo great a *Benefit*: and theſe being no where directed what they ſhall be, are left to the *Care* and Wiſdom of the Governors of the *Church*, who to avoid Confuſion, and to Eſtabliſh *Unity* by *Uniformity*, to preſerve the *Decency* of ſo Sacred a *Duty*, preſcribe this *Form* of words, theſe *Geſtures and Rites*, and this *ſign* as of great ſignification, that as St. *Paul* ſays, *We ſhould Glory in the Croſs of Chriſt*, and receive that as a Badge or *Cognizance* of our Chriſtian Profeſſion.

THE ſame Anſwer will ſerve for all the *Ceremonies* which are made uſe of, or commanded by the *Church of England*. Nor ſhall we need to fear leſt by this *Power* of the Church, the *Ceremonies* ſhould ſwell to ſuch a bulk as to be burthenſom by being too numerous; ſince the *Governors* themſelves are not without a *Rule* in this particular, which is the Determination of the firſt *General Councel at Jeruſalem*: *For it ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than theſe neceſſary things*: one of thoſe neceſſary things was before indifferent, *viz.* to abſtain from things ſtrangled; and St. *Paul* ſeems to make even the other, about the things

Acts 15. 28.

things offer'd to *Idols*, the ſame; which now were made by the *Councel* neceſſary.

But ſuppoſing that there were a real *Clog* of *Ceremonies* (which none can juſtly complain of amongſt us) yet would any man looſe the *ſubſtance* for fear of the *ſhadow*, refuſe to Eat good and wholſome *Diet*, becauſe the *Diſh* was Silver, and too much *Garniſhed*; and by *Schiſm* and Diſobedience run the hazard of his own *Soul*, and all thoſe ſeduced by him, meerly to avoid the doing of thoſe things, which if he does them cannot in the leaſt *prejudice* his *Salvation*? for theſe are only the *Conditions* of our maintaining *Peace*, *Unity*, and *Charity*, but not the *Conditions* upon which our Salvation depends; becauſe *God* has no where ſaid, he that does theſe things ſhall be *damned*, and he that abſtains from them ſhall be *ſaved*; but he has ſaid, we muſt hear the *Church*, and if ſhe Commands this, for *Peace* ſake, we muſt Obey, leſt we be juſtly eſteemed as *Publicans and Heathens*.

Besides, they who Command muſt anſwer to *God* for themſelves, and they who are to Obey ſhall not anſwer for the *Errors* of their Superiors; but no man can anſwer to *God* for his diſobedience againſt them in theſe Commands, not only becauſe they are not *Judges* whether they ought to do

or

or not to do what they are Commanded, but becauſe there can then be no ſuch thing as *Obedience*, if every man may be his own *Judge*; for what one man may do out of pure *doubt* or ſcruple of Mind, thouſands will pretend to do; and it being impoſſible to diſcover the *Tender Conſcience* from the *Obſtinate and Deſigning*, all *Duty* to our Superiors in the *Church* will be *Evaded* with pretence of *Doubting*; or elſe conſiſt in obeying only ſo far as we like the Commands; which is for fear of *Popery* to make every Man his own *Pope*, to diſpenſe with the Laws of *God* and Man, juſt as they ſuit his *Intereſt* and his *Inclination*: to make the *Scriptures* a *Noſe of Wax*, and the *King* and Church meer Heads of *Wood*; and ſince the reaſon of Obedience is, becauſe we think it truth which is Commanded, and that they who Command are better able to *Judge* for us than we our ſelves, as being by *God* appointed over us for that Deſign, ſhould they be miſtaken in what they Command, yet the *Judge* of all the Earth, who cannot do wrong, would be ſo far from puniſhing, that he would reward ſuch *Obedience*, becauſe done according to his Command. Nor ſhall the other for Commanding, becauſe they did it with a good *Deſign*, provided when it does appear to them to be of ill conſequence, they ceaſe to impoſe it any

any longer; which is the true reaſon why many things in the ſervice of *God* have been altered and aboliſhed upon ſeveral *Occaſions*.

THIRDLY, It will be objected, That by this *Rule*, all the *Gallicane*, *German*, and other *Proteſtant* Churches, who live under a Goverment which owns and Commands the *Romiſh* Diſcipline and Church, will hereby be made *Schiſmaticks* to thoſe ſeveral *National* Churches, of which they are Members; and that hereby a neceſſity is laid upon us to return to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*; for if thoſe Churches may diſſent from their *National* Churches, and yet hold the true *Faith*, why may not we; why ſhould their Diſobedience be Lawful, and ours Damnable?

To this I anſwer Firſt, That the Difference between thoſe Churches, and the *National Church* in which they are, does not conſiſt in Matters of *Circumſtance* or *Ceremony* but in Matters of *Faith*; and though I will neither undertake the Defence of thoſe *Churches* either in Doctrine or *Diſcipline*; yet, I ſuppoſe, they ſeparate from the *Roman Communion* upon the account of the Impoſitions of that Church in Points of *Faith*, ſuch as are the *Popes Supremacy* (never owned in *France* even by the *Catholiques*) the Doctrines of *Infallibility*, the *real Preſence* by *Tranſubſtantiation*,

ſtantiation, Merit of Works, and Supererogation, Invocation of Saints, *Purgatory*, Adoration of *Images*, &c. and the *Roman* Church who impoſes theſe as *Articles of Faith*, is her ſelf *Schiſmatical* (if not *Heretical*) from the *Catholique Apolique* Church of all *Ages*; and therefore to depart from her where ſhe departs from *Truth*, is no more *Hereſie* or *Schiſm*, than it would be to depart from the Law of *Moſes*, or the *Jewiſh* Communion in *Circumciſion*, &c. or of *Mahomet*, if thoſe were impoſed as Matters of *Faith* by that or any other *Church*: for the *Apoſtles Rule* holds good to the End of the *World* for all Chriſtians in Matters of *Faith* and Manners, *Be ye followers of me as I am of Chriſt*. And would the *Romiſh* Church Impoſe no more upon Chriſtians as neceſſary to Salvation, than is contained in thoſe three famous *Creeds* of the *Apoſtles*, *Nice*, and St. *Athanaſius*, and what is clearly contained in *Scripture*, which have ever been the *Standards* of the *Catholique Faith*, I think every good Chriſtian, over whom they may challenge a Lawful *Juriſdiction*, ought to joyn with them in Communion of Government; and even thoſe over whom they can rightly challenge none, ought yet to agree with them in the *Communion of Faith*; Nay, ſhould they command many *Ceremonies* in the Service of God,

1 *Cor.* 11. 1.

God, more than they do, yet those who live in the *Jurisdiction* of that Church, ought to submit to them for the maintaining of Unity, Peace, and Charity: and I doubt not but the Foreign *Protestants* (at least in Charity I hope so) if there were no other matters of Difference between them, would easily be perswaded to submit to all the Points of Government, Ceremony, and much more. I remember what a Famous *French Minister* said to this Purpose, when he was told that some of the *English Nonconformists* refused Communion with the Church of *England*, because they were Enjoyned to wear the *Surplice*, and other Vestments; *I wish*, says he, *that the King of* France *would command me to perform my Function in a Fools Coat:* so little did he think the outside and dress of *Religion* to be of the *Essence* of it, and so necessary did he *judge* Obedience, as well as true Faith, to the Peace, Unity and Happiness of the *Church*.

But Secondly, Many of those *Protestants* have Licence and *Tolleration* given them, to Celebrate the Worship and Service of *God* according to their own *Way*, and by that Dispensation, they are free from the guilt of Disobedience to the *Civil Magistrate*; and for the Obedience they owe to the Church of *Rome*, I presume they are willing to give it with all their hearts,

hearts, if *Rome* Exacted no more in matters of *Faith* than *God Almighty* requires as necessary to *Salvation.*

But the *Case* is clearly different betwixt our Dissenters, and the Foreign *Protestants*; for our Differences are, or at least are pretended to be, about matters of *Polity*, and the Manner of performance of the Offices of *Religion*: and let the *Nonconformists* prove us but *Guilty* of destroying one *Article of Faith*, or imposing any thing to be believed or done contrary to the *Scriptures*, and let them dissent from us in *Gods Name*; and till they can do that, their *Separation* will be a horrid *Schism*, and their *Nonconformity* a manifest Disobedience to the Laws of *God* and Men. And should the *Foreign* Churches refuse the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and disobey the *Princes* whose Subjects they are, commanding them, if there were no greater Differences than Matters of *Ceremony* and Circumstance, I doubt not but their *Separation* and Disobedience would deserve the same *Character.*

But supposing the Supreme *Power* of those Countries should absolutely prohibit the *Protestants* the exercise of their *Religion*, I think they ought to obey, and fall to the *Old* Arms of the *Primitive Christians*, *Prayers and Tears*, and not to the new *Methods*, of *Manaces*, making *Parties*,

ties, and endeavouring by force of *Arms* to obtain that from *Authority* by Violence and Compulsion, which they cannot by Perswasion: A *Practice* shameful to the *Protestant* Cause, and for any thing I can see, if they *Judg* of all by the Example of our *Dissenters*, more likely to perswade all *Princes* to Extirpate them out of their Dominions for Seditious *Schismaticks*, and Dangerous *Rebells*, than to *Tollerate* them as Innocent and *Religious Christians*.

THIS was the *Custom* of the *Ancient* Christians, who Conquered more by the *Cross*, than the Persecutors by all their *Cruelty*; who overcame by Suffering, and not by *Rebelling*. A remarkable *Instance* of which. we have in the Army of *Julian* the *Apostate*, who were obedient to him as their Temporal *Soveraign* so long as he liv'd; but after he had *jested* out his *impious* Soul with a *Vicisti Galilæe*, and that *Jovinianus* was chosen *Emperor*, which he refused as being a Christian, and thinking the whole Army *Pagans*, they all cried out, *Et nos sumus Christiani*, We are all of us also *Christians*. Here were men in *Arms*, a Powerful Number of *Veterane* and Victorious *Legions*; and yet had they not so much as a Rebellious thought of Establishing *Religion* by force or *violence*.

CHAP.

Chap. VII.

By what has been ſaid, it appears that the Foundation of all *Charity* among Chriſtians, is built upon *Unity* in *Faith*, which is the neceſſary bond of the *Catholique Church*, which is the Company of all faithful People which are, have been, or ſhall be in all Ages and Places of the *World*; and that *Unity* in Government as well as Faith, is the Bond of Peace; and Obedience a Duty therefore which all men owe to their Lawful Superiors, as the Neceſſary Ligature of a *National Church*; which being a *Political Society* of Religious Men, does therefore require a *Political* Government in *Religious* as well as *Civil* affairs.

The not well conſidering of this Difference between a *National* and the *Catholique Church*, ſeems to be the chief Ground of the *Quarrels* among Chriſtians: for the Catholique Church being the Spiritual *Body of Chriſt*, is United in it ſelf and to him by the Spiritual *Bond* of the *Catholique Faith*; which *Faith* may be kept Whole and Undefiled, though there be great Differences in *External Rites* and *Ceremonies*. For all *Ceremonies* are not fit for all *Places*; as for Example, *Submerging* of the perſon *Baptized* may do very well

well in the warm *Climates*, but would be very hazardous in the more Northern *Regions* of *Muſcovy*, *Ruſhia*, &c. Thus we ſee it was adjudged in that Great Controverſie about the Celebration of *Eaſter*, between the *Eaſtern* and the *Weſtern Churches*: For when *Anicetus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, differ'd in their *Opinion* about it, they came to this amicable Determination, that each Church ſhould celebrate it according to their own *Cuſtom*, for which they gave this Reaſon, *Quia non oportet propter Cæremoniarum diſſonantiam, rumpere Fidei Conſonantiam, & Eccleſiæ Concordiam:* The Peace and Concord of the Church in the Harmony of *Faith*, ought not to be broken for a diſagreement in matters of *Ceremony*; And becauſe this Difference made a great Noiſe in the Church for many years, and in regard it Confirms my Poſition of *Unity* of Faith, being the Bond of the Catholick Church, and *Unity* of Government as well as Faith, that of a *National* Church, I will relate the Hiſtory of it in ſhort as it is Recorded by *Euſebius* in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. *Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 24, 25, 26.*

Polycrates Biſhop of *Epheſus*, and a great many of the *Aſian* Biſhops, alledging the Practice and ancient Cuſtom of St. *John*, the beloved Diſciple of our Lord, who was himſelf Biſhop of *Epheſus*,

ſus, *Polycarp*, and ſeveral others obſerved *Eaſter* upon any day of the Week according to the Cuſtom of the *Jews*. The Chriſtians of the *Weſtern Church* obſerved it, as we do, upon the *Sunday*, being the day of his *Reſurrection*. Upon this, *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, pronounces them *Excommunicate* and ſeparates from their *Communion*; *Irenæus* Biſhop in *Lions*, ſhews *Victor* his *Error*, and that for *Ceremonies* and Circumſtances the *Unity* of the Church ought not to be broken; which he manifeſts by the Diverſity of ſeveral *Churches*, in obſerving the time of *Faſting* befor *Eaſter*, ſome only one day, ſome two, ſome more, to forty, and yet for all this, ſays that Excellent *Father*, they were at *Unity* one with another, and as yet retain it; for this Variety of *Faſting* commendeth the *Unity* of *Faith*; and thereupon writing to *Victor*, he acquaints him, that *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Teleſephorus*, and *Xyſtus* his Predeceſſors, though not obſerving the ſame *Cuſtom* with the Biſhops of *Aſia*, yet nevertheleſs were at *Unity* with them, and ſent the *Euchariſt* unto the Brethren of other *Churches*, that obſerved a *Contrary Cuſtom*; ſhewing him alſo how *Polycarpus* did not endeavour to alter the Judgment of *Anicetus*, but told him that he ought to obſerve the ancient Cuſtom of his *Predeceſſors*: Upon which, for

for the reaſon before-mentioned, they friendly received the Holy *Euchariſt* together, the *Symbol* of their *Unity in Faith*, and parted from each other in *Peace*; and all ſuch, adds he, as held contrary *Cuſtoms* and Obſervations throughout the *Univerſal Church*, held faſt the Bond of Love and *Unity*; no Church endeavouring to impoſe upon the Liberty of others in point of *Circumſtances*, ſo long as they all held the *Catholique Faith* as the only neceſſary bond of *Union* in the *Catholique Church*, and *Unity* of Government as the Bond of *Union* in the ſeveral Diſtinct and *National* Churches, whereof the Univerſal is compoſed, and which therefore it appears, had *Originally* a Juriſdiction among themſelves, over which neither *Rome* nor any other had a *Power*.

So that is clear, that ſeveral *National* Churches may lawfully differ in External *Rites* of Government from the *Catholique*, without the danger of *Schiſm*; But now in a *National* Church there is a neceſſity of *Unity* and Obedience to the Determinations of thoſe who are the Lawful Governors of it; and all Diſobedience there is a *Schiſm*, in regard the *Peace* of that Church, the Order, and Charity of it, without this muſt be deſtroyed; and therefore there is a Neceſſity of this *Unity* in point of Government in any *National* Church.

Now every Distinct *Nation*, as before was said, being a separate *Society* of men Distinguished from the rest of the *World*, by a different Government, and their Obedience to it, as well as by their *Place* of Habitation; there is a Necessity that Religion should conduce all it can to the preservation of that *Political Frame*, upon which the Well-being and Happiness of the *Society* depends; For the *Civil* and Religious concerns are so mutually interwoven, that no man can be a Good *Citizen* who is an ill *Christian*, or an ill Christian who is *Bonus Civis*, a good *Publique-wealths-man*; and these do mutually support one another; true Religion Improving this *Interest* of all Men, by making the *Civil* part of the *Polity*, a Duty of *Religion* among Christians, whereas among Heathen, it was only a duty of *Interest and Policy*: For even in this sense we may truly say as our Saviour of himself, that Christian Religion *came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it*; to conform Humane Laws to the *Rule* of *Divine Equity*, Truth, and *Justice*; and for this reason our *Lord* himself gave that Universal Precept to *Render to Cæsar his Due*; which also he confirmed by his *Practice*, paying him Tribute even with a Miracle.

Matt. 5. 17.

Nor do we ever find the *Primitive* Spirit of Christianity opposing any humane

Laws

Laws or Power, unleſs they were ſuch as directly ſtruck at the *Root* of Faith and a holy Life; ſuch as were the ſevere *Edicts* of the Perſecuting *Emperors*, to compel them to renounce and Blaſpheme *Chriſt*; to adore the *Pagan Gods*; or to offer Incenſe to the Statues of the *Emperors*. Nay, when they were treated with more than inhumanity, they never had recourſe to *Violence*, or attempted to juſtle the Temporal Power out of the *Throne*, or force it to a compliance with their *Wills*, but ſuffered patiently, even when (as *Tertullian* Apologizes for them) they were grown ſo numerous, that if they ſhould by a Common conſent have deſerted the *Empire*, they would have left *Deſolation* behind them.

THIS being therefore granted, That our Obedience to the Laws of the *Polity* or *Nation* wherein we live, (ſo long as they command nothing contrary to the *Divine Law*) is a part of our Chriſtian *Religion*, (as may be eaſily made appear from Reaſon, Scripture, and the Practice of the beſt and pureſt Ages of *Primitive* Chriſtianity) even in ſuch Conſtitutions as concern the Government of the Church, as well as the Temporal Affairs of State, which was done with great happineſs to both, in the Reigns of *Conſtantine* the Great, and many other Chriſtian *Emperors*; I

will therefore proceed upon this *Position*, to shew that, in Order to the happy Condition both of *Civil* and Religious Affairs, there is an absolute Necessity of *Unity* and *Uniformity* of Government *Ecclesiastical* in a *National* Church.

This Necessity is grounded both in the Prudence of the Lawful *Policy*, and Religious *Wisdom*. I will begin with the Religious *Necessity*.

We must therefore consider the *Essence*, the *Nature*, the Design, and the Intention of the *Gospel*, in that part of it which differences it from all other *Religions*, both *Pagan*, *Jewish*, and *Mahumetan*, for the Intention of that must be our Great Design, if we will be true Followers of *Christ*, and not in Words profess we own him, but in *Actions* deny him, and his *Royal Priesthood* over us.

Now the very *Essence* of Christian Religion consists in Love, or *Charity*; this is the *New* Commandment, and the fulfilling of the *Old*: and herein it is that Christianity differs from and Excells all other *Religions*. The *Heathens* knew no more of this than their *Interest* obliged them to; and therefore all those of Different *Nations*, Manners, or Religions, were esteemed *Barbarians* and Enemies; and accordingly treated: and had not *God Almighty* permitted the *Regiment* of the World to be

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Absolute and *Tyrannical*, this want of Charity one to another, would certainly have thrown them into perpetual Civil *Wars* and Confusion amongst themselves, there being then no *Rein* upon *Ambitious* Spirits, but Fear of the *Arbitrary Power*, and Will of their *Princes*, which was the Supreme Law by which they Rul'd their Subjects. And even the Law of *Moses* (according to the corrupt gloss of the *Scribes and Pharisees*) said, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour and hate thine Enemy*; and according to the letter of it, Exacted *Life for Life*, *Eye for Eye*, *Tooth for Tooth*. But when the *Eternal* Son of the *Blessed* came into the *World*, both to Redeem it and Renew it; to Exalt men who were sunk into a *Degeneracy* below the *Beasts* that Perish; and to make them partakers of the *Divine Nature*, he teaches another *Doctrine* very harsh to Flesh and Blood, but such as would in reality make them resemble *God* their Heavenly Father. He teaches them *to Love their Enemies*, *to Bless them that Curse us*, *to do good to them that hate us*, *to Pray for them that despightfully Use us*, *and Persecute us*; by which *Methods* we shall come to be the true Children of the true *God*, whose Glorious *Sun riseth upon the Evil and the Good*, and whose fruitful *Showers fall upon the Just and the Unjust*. This *Love* he makes the

Matt. 5. 43. *Deut.* 19. *ult.* *Matt.* 5. 44, 45.

Foundation of *Religion* which he was to introduce into the *World*, proceeding from the infinite *Love of God* to Mankind, & from the *God of Love*; and therefore he tells us that the whole Law is compriſed in theſe two Commandments, to *Love God* and our *Neighbour*. And therefore he does ſo often repeat that which he calls the *New* Commandment; *A new Commandment I give unto you, That ye Love one another, as I have Loved you; that ye alſo Love one another; by this ſhall all men know that you are my Diſciples, if ye have Love one for another.* And what he taught he alſo confirmed by his Example, *In that he died for us when we were Enemies,*

Matt. 22. 37, 38, 39, 40.

Joh. 13. 34, 35.

Now the Command being *Univerſal*, to all thoſe who are the Diſciples of *Chriſt*; they who hate another, becauſe they differ or diſſent from them in ſome things, which *Chriſt* having left indifferent, has therefore left to the Wiſdom of thoſe with whom he intruſted the Government of the Church, to determine as they ſhall *Judge* moſt conducive to this great Deſign of Charity, cannot be the true *Diſciples* of *Chriſt*; for, *If any man ſay, I love God, and hate his Brother, he is a Lyar.* And therefore the holy *Apoſtles*, and particularly the beloved *Diſciple* St. *John*, lays ſuch weight upon this *Duty*, and ſo frequently commands it, that his three *Epiſtles* are

1 *Joh.* 4. 20.

ſcarce

ſcarce any thing elſe but a repetition of that Command, and the reaſons for it: which brings into mind what I have ſomewhere read of that *Apoſtle*, that in his extreme old age reſiding at *Epheſus*, and governing the Churches of the leſſer *Aſia*; when he was not able to perform the *Offices* of the Church, yet he would be carried in his chair to the *Aſſembly* of Chriſtians, where he would ſeveral times repeat this Sentence; *My little Children love one another*: and being demanded the reaſon of this ſhort, but Excellent *Sermon*, he made anſwer to this Effect, becauſe, *It did compriſe the ſum of all Religion, and that Charity would cover a multitude of other faults.* And therefore St. *Paul* doubts not to give it the *preheminence* above the two other principal *Graces*. *Now* (ſays he) *abideth Faith, Hope, and Charity, but the greateſt of theſe is Charity.* For when *Hope* ſhall be completed by *poſſeſſion*, and *Faith* changed into *Fruition*, then ſhall *Charity* be moſt triumphant, as being the Life of Heaven, and the pleaſing imployment of a glorious *Eternity*. And certainly it is this love unfeigned both towards *God* and towards our *Brethren*, that is ſo of the Eſſence of *Religion*, that without both theſe, it is but a meer *Impoſtor*; for no perſon can truely fear *God*, who does not ſincerely love him; and no man loves

1 Cor. 13. 13.

God

God sincerely, who does not love his *Brother* also: *For the End of the Commandment is Charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good Conscience, and Faith Unfeined.*

1 Tim. 5. 1.

Now taking this for a *Foundation*, which no good Christian can deny, I proceed to shew that it is absolutely impossible to maintain this *Charity* without *Unity* both of Faith and Government in a *National* Church; and to make it evident, I should need no stronger Argument than what the holy *Apostle* St. *Paul* subjoyns in the words following those of his last repeated: *From which* (says he) *some having swerved, have turned aside to vain Jangling.* Here is the source of all the Churches *Miseries*; this *vain jangling* has ever been the occasion of all those Dissentions and Divisions, those mischievous *Quarrels* which have not confined themselves to *Words*, but have proceeded to the *Outrages* of Blows and Blood; it is want of *Charity*, and that pure heart and good *Conscience* which commands *Peace*, and forbids all Disorder and Disobedience, which are destructive of it in the Church of *God*.

But to make this apparent, so as that no Evasion may be found, let us consider that *Unity* of Faith is not sufficient to maintain *Charity* in a *National* Church, unless there be also *Unity* in point of Government; for where men Live together imbodied in one

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political Society, and are therefore daily converſant together, it is impoſſible but they will diſcourſe about the *Modes* as well as the *Eſſence* of Religion: and ſuppoſing that all *People* had free Liberty to chuſe after what manner they would ſerve and *Worſhip God*; no doubt is to be made, but every man would prefer his own *choice* both of *Opinion* and *Practice*, before that of others; and Eſteem it moſt agreable to the Will of *God*, and moſt conducive to the great Deſign of all *Religion*, the Eternal Salvation of Mens Souls: This undue preference of their own *Way*, as it would naturally incline them to make as many *Proſelytes* as poſſibly they could, (a *Duty* they would judge themſelves neceſſarily and indiſpenſably obliged to perform) ſo would it neceſſarily put them not only upon defending and maintaining their own *Way*, but of leſſening, and it may be debaſing and vilifying all others in *compariſon* of it. Nor would others be leſs *eager* in ſearching out and Expoſing their *Errors* and Defects, thereby to Eſtabliſh themſelves, and their *Way of Worſhip*, in the good *Opinion* of their *Followers*, to which *Revenge* (for affront and indignity offer'd to what they Eſteem moſt Sacred) would contribute not a little: ſo that all *Religion* would come to conſiſt in frivolous and endleſs Diſputes and Differences, what

kind

kind of *Breath*, what *Tones*, Words, Habits, Gestures, or Postures *God Almighty* is best pleased with; and instead of that *Charity which covers a multitude of Faults*, that would be the best, which had the least, and was best able to discover the *Infirmities* of all others; and would seem to consist not so much in its own *Excellencies* or Perfections, as by discovering the *defects* of those who did oppose it. Nor would these foolish differences terminate in meer Words and Wrangles, but proceed by degrees to the highest *Animosities* and Extremities of *Hatred*, and such a hatred as inspires Men with the *devilish* Principles of indeavouring to *Extirpate Root and Branch* with Fire and Sword, all those who differ from them it may be but in the *Punctilio's* of outward *Ceremonies*: and they who shall appear most *Zealous* in Executing this blind and furious *Rage*, shall be accounted most godly and *Religious*. *Murder* shall be called *Justice*; Wrong, Violence, and Oppression, Punishments justly inflicted upon the Wicked; *Sacriledge* shall pass for *Piety*, and the most horrid and flagitious *Enormities*, shall be dedicated to the *Glory of God*; and be reputed acceptable service to him, being done, or however pretended, with the design of propagating the *Gospel*, rooting out Superstition, False Doctrine and *Heresie*.

O meek and bleſſed *Jeſus!* thou innocent *Lamb of God who takeſt away the Sins of the World*, is this the Religion which with thy precious blood was planted in the *World*, and watred with the blood of ſo many of thy holy Saints and *Martyrs?* Aſſuredly God is not in ſuch terrible *Hurricanes*, Whirlwinds, and *Earthquakes*, Tempeſts or *Fires*, as rend the *Mountains*, and break the *Rocks* in pieces; as ſhake and put all the Foundations of the *World* out of Courſe, and conſume all before them: No, no; it is in the ſmall ſtill voice, the calm, and ſoft voice of *Peace* and Meekneſs that *God* and true *Religion* are to be found. Alas! it is not in this mans pompous *breath*, nor that mans *Eloquent Harangue* that *God* is delighted; it is not the rude and undecent *Religion* of him who deſpiſes all *Ceremonies* in the Worſhip of *God*, who will not bend his *knee* or uncover his *head* for fear of he knows not what *Idolatry*; Nor is it the over *ſuperſtitious* and *courtly* ſervice of him who makes all his Religion groan under the Load of ſplendid *Ceremonies*, that *God* is pleaſed with: he has no more ſatisfaction in theſe *Exterior* demeanors, than, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſays, *in the ſtrength of an horſe, or in the legs of a man; but the Lord taketh pleaſure in them that fear him, in thoſe that hope in his Mercy.* And all theſe outward *Demonſtrations* of our *Worſhip*,

1 *Kings* 19. 11, 12.

Pſal. 147. 10, 11.

ſhip, are only valuable according to their inward intention of promoting the main Deſign for which he intended them, which is *Peace*, Unity, and Concord among the Sons of *Men*.

Now this bleſſed *Peace*, this happy *Unity*, and this Chriſtian *Concord*, are not to be hoped for in any *National* Church, but by ſubmitting to ſuch common *Expedients* in the Celebration of the *Publique* Worſhip of *Almighty God*, as by putting an End to theſe Differences, may lay aſleep all theſe occaſions of Diviſions, Diſputes, and *vain janglings*; and may therefore cut off the root and occaſion of *Quarrels* about the *How* God ſhall be ſerved. And this *Power* muſt either be granted to be in the Governors of the Church and *Nation*, or otherways all falls to Confuſion: For if it be not in the Church, then have not any *Diſſenters* that Power over their Churches; and therefore they go about an unlawful Action, and are bold Uſurpers over the Chriſtian *Liberty* of their Brethren, whileſt they go about to Eſtabliſh any Government in their *Congregations*; if it be in the Church, then either that Authority is in the Church of *England*, or She is not a true Church. Let them prove that, and we will fairly and quietly yield them the *Cauſe*; But if the Church of *England* be a true Church, and

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a true Church have ſuch a Power, then ought all who are in that Community and *Nation*, to be obedient to her *Determinations*; becauſe they are within the Verge of her *Juriſdiction*; and they who are diſobedient, are guilty of the breach of *Unity* and Charity, and Enemies to *Peace*; and if the *Author* of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* be of any Credit, they who do not *follow Peace with all Men*, as well as Holyneſs, (and much more then with that Church which brought them forth, and has nurſt them in her tender Arms) *ſhall never ſee God.* And into what a deſperate condition then have they reduced themſelves, who for want of this *Charity*, Peace, and Unity, run themſelves and their *Diſciples* into the danger of being Excluded, (notwithſtanding all their Holyneſs) from the Glorious preſence of *God*, which in plain Engliſh is *Eternal Damnation.*

Ah poor Church of *England!* how juſtly mayeſt thou take up the Mournful complaint of *God Almighty* by his Prophet *Iſaiah*; *Hear ô Heavens! and give ear ô Earth! I have nouriſhed and brought up Children, and they have rebelled againſt me!* O miſerable and deceived *People!* How vainly do you Eſtabliſh your hopes of *Eternal* Happineſs upon principles of Diſſention? Who are made believe no way

Eſay 1. 2.

way so secure to attain Salvation, as *Disobedience* to the Government of the Church your *Mother*? Who lose all *Charity*, the substance of Religion, for the *Watry shadow* that appears in the smooth but treacherous face of the specious words of *Reformation*, and greater degrees of *Purity*; not considering in the mean time, that these are all (the best of them) but outward *Forms of Godliness*, common to the Good and Bad; but that *Charity* and *Obedience* in order to Brotherly *Unity*, are the *Power* and the Life, the Soul, and very *Essence* of all true *Religion*: With these, Religion may be false, but without the other, it can never be true. *Wo unto them* (says the Prophet) *that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight.* And what can be more Evident than that these *People* must be so to the highest degrees of *Folly* and *Frenzy*, who expose the Peace and Well-fare of the Church, to ruine and Distruction, in *complaisance* to their private ill-grounded *Opinions* in mere matters of Indifferency; who neglect a certain *Duty*, for a Doubtful *Supposition*; and have less Esteem for *Charity* than a *Scruple* or a *Fancy*; who by their obstinate *Practice* so contrary to all *Antiquity*, and so wholly new, and therefore *Uncertain*, set themselves in the *Throne* of Wisdom and Prudence, much above all the Learned, Pious, and glorious

Esay 5. 21.

glorious Governors of the Church, Saints, and *Martyrs*, which have been in all Ages since the *Son of God* laid the Foundation of it with his precious Blood: Nay, even above the *Son of God* himself, who not only left that Government in his Church, (as shall be shewn hereafter) but by the *Miraculous* continuance and preservation of that Government, has manifested that he does approve it, and that he has upheld it by his mighty Power and *Wisdom*.

Let Dissenters therefore shew us perspicuously when there was any other Government in the Church than that of *Bishops*? Let them shew us when ever the Church was without a *Publique Liturgy*, since that composed by St. *James*? When ever Christians were without *Priests* to attend the *Altar*, *of which they who serve the Jewish* Tabernacle *have no right to Eat*, or that these were of the *Peoples* chusing, and not Ordained by *Bishops* to their Sacred *Function*? Let them shew us where ever any person was permitted to Entertain the People with a long *Extempore Prayer*, more to the displaying his own *Abilities* than to edify them; more to disparage others who cannot, who dare not if they can, be so bold with the Dreadful *Majesty* of Heaven, than to bring them into Charity with such Persons, whose considerative *Modesty* stands amazed at the thoughts of the *Di-*

Heb. 13. 10.

vine Omnipotence, as having been taught by the *Holy Spirit*, *That God is in Heaven and we on Earth, and therefore our words ought to be few*; and that it is a fooliſh Preſumption to think we can pleaſe him by breaking his *commands*, *by being raſh with our Mouths, and haſty with our hearts to utter any thing before God, for they who do ſo conſider not that they give the ſacrifice of Fools, and do Evil*; which an *Apoſtle* tells us we muſt not at any *Rate* be guilty of, not though we may reaſonably hope for a good *Effect* from evil Actions, *whoſe Damnation he there ſays is juſt.*

Eccleſ. 5. 1, 2.

Rom. 3. 8.

Let them ſhew us theſe things either poſitively commanded of *God*, or prohibited, Univerſally practiſed by the Church, or condemned; or otherways let them confeſs that they are wiſer than the Generations of their Fore-fathers in *Chriſt*; wiſer than the *Apoſtles* and all the holy *Martyrs*, who with their Blood Sealed and Delivered the Truth of theſe things down to us. And if they will call theſe Practices *Antichriſtian*, Superſtitious, and Unlawful, if they will tear off the *Ornaments* of their Mother, nay and Murther her too, becauſe ſhe will not conſent to betray herſelf and her truſt to their *Novel Wiſdom*, if they will more barbarouſly than the *Roman* Souldiers rend the ſeamleſs Coat of *Chriſt*, to patch up another of their own Inven-

Inventions; we must pity them and pray for them in the Language of our blessed *Jesus*, *Father forgive them for they know not what they do:* and yet even that *Charity* does not deprive us of using all Lawful ways and means to defend our selves from their injurious incroachments; nor is it meant that our *Charity* ought to be so defenceless, as voluntarily to *Expose* us to their Injustice and *Cruelty:* And that glorious Law which commands us to love and pray for our Enemies, does not oblige us to offer our throats a *Sacrifice* to their Swords, nor are we bound to be so kind to them, as to be *Cruel* to our selves. *Luk.* 23. 34.

I could heartily wish the sad Effects of the Decay of Christian *Charity* among us were only the *Cloudy* apparitions of my own fears and imaginations; *Airy* Combats and *Meteors* of the Mind: But alas! we may but too sorrowfully invert the saying of the *Royal Prophet*; *We have heard with our Ears, and our Fathers have told us*; nay, miserable people that we are, we have seen with our Eyes these afflicting *Truths:* For no sooner was the Church of *England*, stept out of the *Errors* and Darkness of *Rome*; but the *Devil*, the great Incendiary of the *World*, envious of our Happiness, begun to sow the *Tares* of Dissention among us. I will not repeat the *Names* of those *Authors* of our Misery, *Psal.* 44. 1.

but I desire all Dissenters of what Names soever, to consider what have been the Effects of these Differences which for this 80 years they have with such *Hereditary* Violence and Animosity maintained against the Church of *England?* What is it that has banish't all *Charity* from the Minds and Lives of Men? What is it that has made all those Heats, Strifes, and Divisions, those bitter Railings, that *Hatred*, Emulation, and at last Separation from the *Communion of Saints* (which is one *Article* of our Faith) between people of different *Opinions*? What is it therefore that has sacrificed Faith to *Opinion?* From what Fountain flow'd all those fearful streams of *blood*, which so lately staind our yet blushing Fields, Scaffolds, nay our very *Temples* and *Altars?* From what Coast blew those Whirlwinds of *Rebellion* and Sedition, not privy but publique *Conspiracy*, which threw down all, *Crowns* and *Mitres*, Churches and Palaces, every thing *Sacred* and *Civil*; which occasion'd the ruine of so many *Millions* of Souls, Bodies, and Estates? This *Cloud* which was at first no bigger than a Mans hand, which afterwards cover'd the face of the *Heavens* with Storms and Tempests, Thunder and Lightning, like the dismal Plague of *Egypt*, Fire mingled with Hail, was nothing but the diflike which some persons had that their

their ſenſe was not made the *ſtandard of Religion*; and becauſe, contrary to their good liking, ſome *Ceremonies* were thought fit to be retained in the Church, as being of great *Antiquity*, of Excellent Uſe and neceſſity, which they would have had totally aboliſhed.

These men, whoſe *Tempers* were warmer than their *Charity*, and whoſe *Zeal* was much too heavy for their *Judgment*; either not conſidering, or not caring what muſt be the neceſſary conſequences of theſe ſparks of *Diſſention*; ſet their Lungs to work as well as their *Wits*, to blow them up into a *Flame*; pretending to the *Unwary*, that that *Fire* which was indeed of their own kindling, was the only *Goſpel Light*; and that which by its future Effects has proved it ſelf a Portentous *Comet*, was the *Day ſtar from on high which was ſent to viſit them*, to lead them to *Eternal* Light, under the Glorious Sun of Righteouſneſs. Had it burnt like the kind and wondrous lambent flame in *Moſes* his buſh, without conſuming it, we might have been induced to believe that *God* was in the Fire. But alas! it was too ravenous to permit us to continue in that belief; and the *World* has found by dear Experience, that it was of the Extraction of that Fire St. *James* deſcribes unto us, *Behold* (ſays he) *how great a matter a little* *Jam.* 3. 6. *Fire*

Fire kindleth; and the Tongue is a Fire, a World of Iniquity, it ſets on fire the whole Courſe of Nature, and it is ſet on fire of Hell; being an untamable little Animal, an unruly Evil, full of deadly Poiſon, Eſpecially *when therewith we bleſs God even the Father, and curſe Men who are made after the ſimilitude of God.*

HOWEVER, to juſtifie their *Diviſion* and Diſlike, they did indeavour with might and main, to pull down *Babylon*, as they call'd not only *Rome* but the *Reformation*, (that being the odious name of whatever diſpleaſes them) becauſe it was not model'd according to that *Platform* which they therefore fancied, becauſe it was of their own deviſing: Diſcourſes full of *Gall* and Wormwood, inſtead of *Meekneſs* and Humility, flew like lightning from their *Pens*, as well as Invectives, and bitter Reproaches from their *Mouths*. And to make ſome ſhew that they were not without *Reaſon*, a new Frame of Church Government, wholy *unpreſidented*, and never before practiced, was minted at *Geneva*: This gliſtering *Medal* (as the courſeſt *Medals* will do when they come firſt off the *Mint*) ſhone with ſuch a dazeling *luſtre* in the Eyes of thoſe who *Coin'd* it, as the ſilver ſhrines of *Diana* did in the *Opinion* of *Demetrius*: and preſently (I will not ſay poſitively for the ſame *Reaſons*) it gain'd as many, and

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as tumultuous *Worſhippers*, who like the wild *Epheſians* cri'd up this Μεγάλη ἡ Ἄρτεμις, *a Thunderbolt* newly dropt from the Clouds, with as much Erneſtneſs and as little *Reaſon*, *Where ſome cried one thing, and ſome another, for the Aſſembly was confuſed*, (as it always happens where any thing is managed by *Tumult* and Paſſion) *and the greater part knew not wherefore they were come together*: but ſome there were who did; and they who did not, yet were made believe they were as good as the beſt. Yet was not even this *Glorious* and *thorough Reformation*, though new run and caſt, ſo pure and perfect from all the droſs of *Superſtition* and Corruption, but that ſome of quicker ſight and ſounder *Judgment* among themſelves, eſpied ſome *Babyloniſh* ruſt upon it; and ſtraight they began, after the Example of *Presbytery*, to make uſe of their Chriſtian *Liberty*, and to ſeparate likewiſe the *Pure* from the *Vile*. Acts 19. 32.

THUS was the Unfortunate *Ichabod* of *Presbytery* born amongſt us, with the Death of his *Mother*, and the Diſmal overthrow of the *Holy Church*: *The Glory departed from our* Iſrael, *the Ark was loſt, and there was a great ſlaughter among the People*. Then aroſe whole ſwarms of *Sects*, or rather *Inſects* in Religion, with guilded *Wings*, but Scorpions Tayls, painted Bo- 1 Sam. 4.

dies, but ſtill poiſonous Stings; and as if *Beelzebub* the God of Flies, and *Ekron*, had been let looſe among us, nothing was heard but the confuſed *buzzing* of theſe differing *Opinions*, who all pretended to gather Honey for the Hive, but were in truth Sacrilegious *Robbers*; agreeing in nothing but their mutual hatred, and common deſign againſt the Church of *England*, whoſe utter Extirpation was the mark of their United *Conſpiracy*; in order afterwards every one to Eſtabliſh themſelves, not only upon hers, but the Ruine of their differing *Confederates*.

THESE have been, and I wiſh I could ſay they were not at preſent the ſad, natural, and neceſſary *Effects* of breaking the Unity of Government in the outward Adminiſtration of the Service of *God*; which crumbles a glorious Church into the *Epicurean Atoms* of Faction and Confuſion, till at laſt there remains little of it, beſides the *Name*: and moſt certainly they who have once ſhaken hands with this *Unity*, muſt of neceſſity in a ſhort time take their leave of *Charity*; for theſe are the *Twins* of true *Religion*, which live and dye together, and when theſe are gone, the tongues of Men and *Angels*, the Faith of *Miracles*, and the flaming *Zeal* of *Martyrs*, *are but ſounding Braſs and tinkling Cymbals*, they may make a little jingling noiſe of *Religion*,

on, but it is to be feared, the louder they are, the more *Empty* of the ſoul and ſubſtance of true *Piety*, and Chriſtianity.

So that thoſe who do believe that *Charity* is ſo of the *Eſſence* of Religion, as good Works are of *Faith*, without which the one is as dead and vain as the other; will eaſily be convinced, both by *Reaſon* and *Experience*, of the abſolute Neceſſity that there is of *Unity* in Point of Government to preſerve that *Charity* alive: ſince without this *Unity* of Government to determine and give a *Period* to the Differences of ſeveral *Opinions*, which ſhall be obtruded as Matters of *Faith*, all *Religion* preſently degenerates into *vain* and endleſs *Diſputes*; theſe produce *Diviſions*, Factions, and Parties; thoſe run immediately into ſeparation of *Communion*; that leads men headlong to *Animoſities* and Hatred, and Hatred always ends in *Confuſion and every evil Work*, as St. *James* has well inform'd us. *For* (ſays he) *the Wiſdom which is from above is peaceable as well as pure, full of Mercy and good Fruits, and the fruit of Righteouſneſs is ſown in Peace of them that make Peace*, and all other Wiſdom which baniſhes *Charity* with a pretence of Eſtabliſhing *Piety*, is *Senſual, Carnal, Devilish*; Excellent recommendations of *Reformation* carried on without Nay againſt this *Charity* and Unity

Jam. 3. 17.

Unity in the Government of a *National* Church!

Chap. VIII.

Thus we see that Unity in Point of Government, as well as Faith, is absolutely necessary in a National Church to preserve it in *Peace* and Charity, and that is in plain Terms to render it truly Christian, and a part of the *Catholique Church*, which we all profess to believe as an *Article* of our Faith. We shall see in the next place how necessary this *Unity* in point of Government, is to maintain *Christian Discipline* in the *World*; and how without it, that great *Power* of the *Keys* which *Christ* gave to his *Apostles* and their Successors, for the Government of his *Church*, becomes impracticable, and of no Use or Authority for suppressing *Vice*, or Encouraging true *Piety* and Religion.

Loud and clamorous are the Complaints and Declamations against the viciousness and *Debauchery* of the present *Age*; and not without too evident Truth and Reason: *Impiety* which was formerly used to wait for the twilight, dare now walk bare fac't, and stare upon the *Sun*: St. *Paul* says of the modest *Debauchees* of his *Age*, *They that are drunken are drunken*

in

in the Night; but now licentious men are become so impudent as to scorn to throw the *Mantle* of Darkness over their vitious *Intemperance*, that they take a Pleasure and a *Pride* to Riot in the day time, and to affront *God* and Men, and even *humane Nature* it self, by their prodigious and *Publique* Sins and Follies. They who did ill formerly, hated the *light*, but now Men study to affront it, and oblige that pure and innocent Blessing, to become not only a Witness but an Assistant to their *Brutish*, and shameless *Disorders*: and would loose their greatest *pleasure*, should they not expose themselves and their deeds of *Darkness* to the discovery of the Day.

ALL this is laid upon the Government of the *Church*, which though it be as innocent as the light by which they are boldly acted; yet must they conspire in the guilt of these horrid *Crimes*, if we will believe *Dissenters*; who blush not to lay this false Accusation to the Charge of the Government, that thereby they may render it Criminal and *Odious*, and themselves and Party Clear and *Innocent*; when as in truth and reality, the *Guilt* of these miscarriages will be found to lie at their own *Doors*; and let them wipe their mouths never so demurely, and say they have done no Evil, with *Solomon*'s Common Woman; let them wash their hands with *Pilate*, *Prov.* 30. 20.

late, and ſay they are guiltleſs; I doubt not to make it appear to the *contrary*. It is a bold *Charge*, and I know they will ſtart at it as much as the *Diſciples* did, when our *Saviour* told them, *That one of them ſhould betray him*; and be as forward as they to Cry out, Is it I? *Who me?* but what if it prove true; and be made good againſt them? I will indeavour it; and yet with all the Chriſtian Compaſſion that I am capable of; for I have no deſign to Expoſe their *Perſons* to hatred, but to bring them to true Repentance, by ſhewing them the Danger of thoſe *Ways*, which with the ſpecious ſhew of *Righteouſneſs* and Holineſs, deceive them into a *Contempt* of the terrible Authority of the Church, and others, by their *Example*, into all Senſuality, and *Impiety*.

THAT *Chriſt* left to the Governors of his Church the Power of the *Keys*, is moſt Evident from his own plain and clear Words. For when he was to leave this World, he called his *Apoſtles* to him, and

Joh. 20. 23. *Then ſaid Jeſus unto them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath ſent me, even ſo ſend I you*; there is their *Miſſion* and *Commiſſion* for their *Function* and Government;

Matth. 18. 18. *and when he had ſaid this, he breathed on them*, and *ſaith unto them, Receive ye the holy Ghoſt*: there is their Unction and *Ordination*, their ability to perform the

the *Duty*, and discharge the trust reposed in them; *Whose soever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained:* There is the *Office* and the Power which was put into their hands; the *Expedient* by which they were to govern and *Rule* the Church of *God*. And though the *Romanists* endeavour to *Monopolize* (even in the literal and worst sence) this great Power only to Saint *Peter* and his Successors, as they pretend the *Roman* Bishops only are; yet nothing is more clear, than that our *Saviour* intended them all an *Equal* share, and a Power to derive it to their Successors in all Churches, to the End of the *World*; His gracious Promise of being with them extending unto all *Times*, Places, and Persons, who should succeed any of the *Apostles*, as well as St. *Peter:* The Church being *built* not only upon him, but upon *the Foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Christ Jesus being himself the Chief and Corner-stone, in whom and by whom the whole glorious Fabrique is United and Compleated.*

THIS Power of the *Keys*, of binding and loosing, is the Power of *Excommunication* of Offenders, and Absolution of *Penitents*, and is indeed all the *Power* which *Christ* left with his Church, and the only *Jurisdiction* which the Governors can exercise in

in and over it: For all *Corporal* Punishments are properly and peculiarly vested by God himself in the power of the Temporal and *Civil Magistrate*, who carries the *Sword*, and is ordained of *God* for that very purpose and Design; as St. *Paul* acquaints us, *for he beareth not the Sword in vain, but is the Minister of God, a Revenger to Execute punishment upon him that doeth Evil.*

Rom. 13.

An Instance of this terrible Sentence of *Excommunication*, we have inflicted upon the *Incestuous Corinthian*; and that with a great *Formality*: *This is my Determination* (saith the *Apostle*) *In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my Spirit with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such a one to Satan*; as he tells us in another place, that *he had delivered Hymeneus and Alexander to Satan, that they might learn not to Blaspheme.*

1 Cor. 5. 5.

By virtue of this dreadful Power it was, that the *Primitive* Governors of the Church, even when they had no assistance, but all opposition from the *Secular Powers*, yet kept the Flock of *Christ* in all Obedience, Subjection, good Order and *Discipline*: Then were *Christians* Miracles of Charity, *Piety*, and Devotion, to the wondring *Pagans*, when they were obliged to those Duties by no *Humane* Laws, when

when there were no fears of *Priſons*, Tortures, Confiſcations, or Baniſhment, unleſs for being and owning themſelves to be *Chriſtians*; but the only fear of *Excommunication*, and being put out of the Fellowſhip of the Saints here on Earth, and denyed Entrance into the *Congregation* of the Faithful; of being debarred from receiving the *Holy Euchariſt*, and joyning in the publique Service and Worſhip of *God*, was more forcible to make them Holy, Obedient, and *Unanimous*, than all the *Torments* deviſed by Perſecution, were able to make them Prophane or *Vitious*: For why? They did believe, that unleſs the Governors of the Church, the Succeſſors of the *Apoſtles*, did remit their Sins on *Earth*, they ſhould not find remiſſion in *Heaven*; they therefore believed it, becauſe *Chriſt* the Eternal Truth had ſaid it: They did believe, that unleſs they were United by Communion to the Holy *Catholique* Church, they could never hope for the *Remiſſion of Sins*, *the Reſurrection of the Body unto Life Everlaſting*; which is the moſt ancient *Confeſſion* of the Chriſtian *Faith*; and which with great probability is ſuppoſed to be delivered by the *Apoſtles*, to the Church, as a ſhort ſum of Faith neceſſary to Salvation.

Nor were they more fearful of this formidable Sentence of *Excommunication*, than

than desirous of the *Absolution* of the Church, to restore them to the Honour of *God Almighty* after they had offended; and by serious and Solemn *Repentance*, were thought worthy to be readmitted into *Communion*. And this is the other branch of the *Power* of the *Keys*, and from hence arose the necessity of *Confession*; for *Christ* having left a power with his Church to forgive the *Penitent*, it was supposed, that this was not to be done at random; but the *People* looking upon the *Priests* as the *Physicians* of their Souls, and as standing between God and them, as *Internuncij* or Celestial *Embassadors*, as St. *Paul* terms them, when they expected Spiritual *Remedies* for the Diseases of their Souls, they thought it necessary, Especially in imminent danger of *Death*, truly to state the Case and Condition of their Souls to these Spiritual *Physicians*, that so they might be *Judges* of it, and accordingly apply suitable *Remedies*; and from hence sprung these excellent Effects.

First, Men avoided the Danger of flattering themselves into a dangerous *perswasion* of the Goodness and safety of their *Condition*; and by consequence from that security and false *Peace* which has betrayed *Millions* into *Eternal* Misery: For as nothing is more natural than for men to love themselves, so nothing does more powerfully

powerfully incline them to *Judge* favourably, and with a dangerous *Partiality* concerning their *Eternal* Condition; it being with *Diseases* of the Soul as with those of the Body; where no Persons, not even the Learned in the Art of *Hermes*, when sick themselves, are more incompetent *Judges* of their own state, than those who labour under it; who many times *Flatter* themselves with *delirous* Fancies of Life and Health, even when they are under the *Agonies* of approaching *Death*.

SECONDLY, Hereby many haynous sins which men commit in secret, were nipt in the *Blossom*; and believing that without *Confession* there was no *Absolution* to be expected, the very fear of Discovery, or of *Damnation* without it, gave strange checks to such *Tempers* who had not abandoned all *Modesty*: Nor is it to be esteemed a *Wonder*, that Men should receive a more powerful *Controul* from the fear of Humane Knowledg, than from the apprehensions of the *Omniscient Divinity*, since it is so well known, that all men are more affected by the power of sensible Objects, than of *Faith* and Reason; and every mans own experience will convince him that the fear of Shame and Reproach upon *Discovery*, has at least in some part of his Life been more powerful to preserve him from some *Sins*, than all the terrors of a *Future* state

of Misery; and the witness of a little Child which might make a Discovery to the *World*, has prevented the *Execution* of some wicked Designs, which the *Considerations* of the *Divine* presence in all places, would have had no great influence upon.

THIRDLY, Hereby *People* came to have a true Love and Veneration for their *Spiritual Guides*, a love of Reverence, and a love of Tenderness; looking upon them as their Spiritual *Fathers*, and honouring them as such: Then men did not set an Estimate upon them, only proportionate to their abilities of making *Extempore Prayers* (a thing wholly unknown to the first *Ages* of Christianity) or for their gifts of *Eloquent Orations* in the Pulpit; no more than they would do their Physicians for those *Talents*; which though very excellent accomplishments, yet were not thought *Essential* to their Profession, nor conducive to the Health of their *Patients*; who are not to be discoursed or courted by the power of *Rhethorique* into recovery; but they look't upon them as those who had the charge of their Souls, and that they were set by God *to watch over them, as they that must give an account*; and for this Reason it was that they obeyed those that had the Rule over them, and submitted themselves.

Heb. 13. 17.

THEN

THEN was there no quarrelling, no *Litigious* Suits at Law about the Maintenance of the *Priesthood*; (one thing, and the main one, which renders the present *Clergy* so slenderly possessed of the affections of the *People*) but they thought with the good *Apostle*, *That those who sowed unto them Spiritual things, ought to reap a share of their Carnal things*: and after the Maintenance of the *Clergy* was Established by the *Donatives* of their Pious Ancestors, who gave those Revenues as *Free Alms* to God Almighty, and for the support of his Servants and Service; they thought it no less than *Sacriledge to rob God of Tithes and Offerings*, dedicated to the Use of those who by their Attendance upon his *Altar*, were incapacitated to amass up Riches, or even *Competencies* for a future subsistence, as the *Secular* People were by several Arts and Trades. Nay, so cautelous and nice were they in this particular, that they thought they could not dye with a secure *Conscience*, unless they gave something by way of *Compensation* for Tithes forgotten to be paid in their lives; an Opinion which descended down to the days of our *Grandfathers*, as is apparent by the several *Wills* of ancient Date.

Frank Almoigne Libera & perpetua Eleemosyna, The Tenure of the Church.

I am not ignorant that this will expose me to some *Obloquy*, and that I shall be Censured hereby to aim at an Establish-

ment of the *Clergy*, in Honor, Profit, and Dominion; or it may be I may ſuffer in my Reputation, as going about to introduce *Popery* by *Auricular Confeſſion*.

For the Firſt, I can make no other *Vindication* of my Innocence, but an unfeigned *Proteſtation* with Saint *Paul*, that according to the beſt of my Underſtanding, 1 *Tim.* 2. 7. *I ſpeak the truth in Chriſt, and lie not*; and that I have no other *Deſign*, either in particular or general, but the *Peace* of the Church, the Glory of *God*, and the Salvation of all Men; to which I am perſwaded this would extreamly conduce: and not a little to the quiet of mens *Lives*, and advantage of their Temporal Affairs: by cutting away the root of Unkindneſſes about *Meum & Tuum* betwixt the *Miniſter* and his Pariſhioners: ſince we daily ſee, not only that this is the divorce of their Affections, but that this petty *Sacrilegde* is injurious to their *Eſtates*; for what they do thus by an *evil Covetouſneſs* unlawfully ſubſtract from the Eſtabliſhed maintenance of the *Clergy*, is uſually to their treble dammage repaid to the rapaciouſneſs of the *Under Officers* of the *Law*, and in concluſion both parties are looſers; but the greateſt loſs is that of *Charity* and mutual love one towards another.

As to the accuſation or ſuſpicion of being a *Papiſt*; I am as far from it, and it may

may be farther than they who ſhall indeavour to fix that *Calumny* upon me: for I neither believe with the *Romiſh* Church, that it is a *Sacrament*, and abſolutely *Eſſential* to Salvation, ſince Children who could never ſpeak, and Mutes may be ſaved without it; neither am I for thoſe private and *Auricular Confeſſions*, or think thoſe *Pennances* which are enjoyned as the conſequence of them, can make ſatisfaction for the Sins. I remember very well the *Scandal* and Inconvenience which ſuch confeſſion brought into the *Church*, which joyned with the Vow of ſingle Life in *Prieſts*, may give both great *Temptation* and Opportunity to repeat. I know that for this Reaſon, as *Socrates* reports, *Nectarius Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*, by the advice of *Eudemon*, baniſht it from the Eaſtern Church: and though I am not ſo hot as *Baronius*, who calls him *Cacodemon*, or ſo violent as *Andradius*, who terms it, *Impudentiſſimum illud Nectarij factum*; the moſt Impudent Fact of *Nectarius*, yet I cannot tell whether modeſtly one may not ſay it was *Impudent*. For whoſoever will cooly conſider the *Hiſtory* of thoſe Churches of the Eaſt, ſhall find, that the loſs of this Advantageous *Poſt* in point of *Diſcipline*, gave Entrance to thoſe ſwarms of *Hereſies*, and that prophane Licentiouſneſs which in concluſion brought down

Socra. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 19.

Bar. Tom. Ann. 1. 56. Nu. 28. Andrad. Orth. Exp. p. 633.

Vengeance from Heaven upon them, and was compleated in the Ruin and Subversion both of the Church and *Empire* of the *Greeks*, by the barbarous *Mahometans*. Whereas the *Western* Churches did for many Ages preserve themselves in great degrees of Purity of Doctrine, and still by retaining the Use of Discipline, continue their being, notwithstanding their great Corruptions in matters of *Opinion*, which they call Faith.

I know that all this supposed danger might have been prevented, and confessions made in publique in the Church before the *Congregation*, and yet so private, that none might hear them besides the *Minister* to whom they were made; and custom of Usage would have taken away that dangerous shame and modesty which makes men hide their Sins and cover their Trangressions.

I know that humble confession to *God Almighty* is the way to find *Mercy*; but I know not yet how to understand that command of St. *James*, *Confess your Sins to one another, and Pray for one another, and ye shall be healed*, unless it be meant that we must confess our Sins to those who are to Pray for us, and have Power given from above to heal us, which cannot be supposed to be given to all the Congration of Christians, and therefore in reason must be

Jam. 4. 16.

refer-

referred to those who are their *Guides*; such *publique* confessions being more likely to procure *disgrace* and reproaches, and breed division and contempt among Christians, than either Pardon or *Peace*, where any person shall by discovering how he has injur'd his *Neighbour*, expose himself much sooner to his *Revenge* than to Remission. Nor can I tell how the Church can bind or loose on *Earth* the Sins of Men, without a knowledge of them first; and it is impossible they should know many private, great, and deadly sins, without the *Confession* of the Criminals. Saint *John* the *Baptist* received the People to *his Baptism*; *confessing their Sins*; and Saint *John* the *Evangelist tells us*, *If we confess our Sins he is faithful and just to forgive us our Sins.* *God* knows all things, *our very thoughts a far off*, but he usually works by *Means*, and always where he has appointed Instruments he makes Use of them; and having conferred this Honour and this Power upon the *Ministers* of his Church to declare Sinners absolved upon true repentance, it is but reasonable the *Plaister* should be both proper and fit for the Sore: Now let a man discourse never so home and pressingly to People, the necessity of Repentance and *Confession* to *God Almighty* in general *Terms*, it is but like the *Arrow* that a certain man drew at adventure

Mat. 3. 6. *Mark* 1. 5.

Joh. 1. 4. 9.

venture, which may hit between the joynts of the *harneſs*; but uſually men fence off *Generals*, and ſecure themſelves in *Multitude* and Number, that that is not adreſſed to them, or that they are not concerned: Nor does any thing cut ſo home, and pierce to the quick, *dividing like a two edged Sword the very joynts and marrow*, as a particular Charge, like *Nathan*'s to *David*, 2 *Sam.* 12. 7. *Thou art the Man.* The random *Parable* never affected the ſinful *King*, till he came to that cloſe touch, and then he comes immediately to *Confeſſion* and Repentance. Now how any *mortal* man ſhould come to diſcover the *ſecret* ſins of others, which are ever moſt dangerous, I am not able to tell without their *confeſſion*; and how thoſe ſecret ſins ſhould be healed by the Prayers of the Church, without being known, I confeſs my ſelf wholy ignorant; but that the *Church* has this Power given by Chriſt, that I am not to learn; for *Chriſt* himſelf has taught me to know and believe it, becauſe he has ſaid it. The wiſe man tells Prov. 28. 13. us, *He that covereth his ſins ſhall not proſper, but whoſo confeſſeth and forſaketh them ſhall find Mercy.* Who can hide his ſins from the knowledge of *God*, before whom all things are naked and open? Since therefore *God* knows them already, to whom ſhould we confeſs them but to Men, and to what Men, but to thoſe whom *God* has

has intrusted with the charge of our Souls, and from whom he expects an account? and what account are they likely to give of the sins of those under their charge, or of the applications that they have made use of to cure and heal them of those most dangerous wounds, which never came to their knowledge: and which makes me more confident in my perswasion, even those who cry out against *Auricular Confession*, and under that Name against all *Confessions* as *Popish*; yet will (if I am not misinformed,) admit none into their *Congregations*, without something like it under another *Name*; nor will they receive any to the *Sacrament* without *Examination*; one part of which, I presume is, of the state of their Souls as to sin, as the other is of their *Faith* and Knowledge of their Duty: and thus they *confess* the necessity of the thing, whilst they go about to Establish their own Church Government, by what they make a *Crime* in others, and make use of as an *Engine* to overthrow them.

So that notwithstanding what *Censure* I may fall under, I speak it with humility and submission to better *Judgments*, I cannot see how any Church can be happy without this *Expedient*: The *Clergy* will never recover that *Veneration* and Respect due to their *Sacred Function*; nor the love

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of those under their Charge, which is so necessary an ingredient to their doing good in their several places and stations; Nor will *People* ever be brought to know themselves, and the necessity of having Spiritual *Guides*, or the danger of wholy relying upon themselves and their own Knowledge and *Judgment*, till this Power of the *Keys*, in the Absolution of humble *Penitents*, upon Confession to their *Pastors*, be in some measure restored and put in *Practice:* and by how much more it prevails, by so much more will the Church grow in *Peace*, Unity, and Godly Love. For a man may be born with all the *Capacities* of Mind, and Endowments of Nature, to inable him to Preach and Pray most *Eloquently*, or he may by *Art* and Industry acquire them; Nay, he may by *Sorcery* obtain those which some *People* will call *Divine Perfections*, and *Gifts of the Spirit*, witness the late *Relation* of that abominable *Wizzard*, *Major Thomas Weir* in *Scotland*; and so long as people are cherished in a false *Opinion* that these Abilities, however natural or acquired, are sufficient to intitle them to the *Office* of the Ministry, they who are possessed of such Gifts, will think themselves as good and as wise (and it may be Excelling them in those *Talents*) more wise and better than their *Teachers:* which will also incourage them

them not only to contemn and despise their Spiritual *Guides*, but to invade their *Office*; which is the prevailing *Error* of all or most of our *Separatists* and *Dissenters*.

But when People shall come to understand that no Man is a *Legatus Natus* of Heaven, born a *Priest* or a Governour in the Church, but that the *Priests* of the *New Testament, who are Priests for ever after the Order of Melchisedeck, must be called of God, for that no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God as was Aaron*, and that *no man can preach except he be sent*; when they shall know that it is not these Natural *Abilities* and Gifts, but the Power of the *Keys*, of binding and loosing, of remitting and retaining Sins, which *Christ* gave his *Apostles*, and they to their *Successors* by lawful Ordination, which qualifies them for that *Sacred Function*; then would *People* learn to distinguish between *Pastors* of Gods appointment, and *Orators* of their own *Chusing*; and as the *Apostle* Exhorts and Commands, *then would they know those that labour among them, and are over them in the Lord, and admonish them, and esteem them very highly in Love for their Works sake, and then would they be at Peace among themselves.* Heb. 5. 4. Rom. 10. 15. 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13.

Then would they repair for help, assistance, and direction, to the *Physicians* who

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are of Gods *Institution*, and who have Authority, *Virtue*, and Ability, to heal their Souls, to bind or loose, to remit or retain their Sins; and no longer trust to those *Mountebanks* of Religion, who by *Antick* Gestures, and affected Words, draw them to their *Stage*, pretending Universal *Remedies*, when in truth they have no Power, no Virtue, no Authority, but delude them with *Hard Words*, and fair Speeches, making Merchandize of them, crying *Peace, Peace*, where there is no Peace, and slightly healing the Wounds of the Daughter of our *People*; when as they are not able to shew any *Warrant* from *Christ*, his *Apostles*, or their Successors, for their obtruding themselves into the *Holy Function*, and important charge of being Spiritual *Guides* and Governors of the Church and People of *God*.

For *Ordination* by the *Imposition* of the hands of the *Bishop* and his *Presbyters*, has in all *Ages* of the Church been esteemed the *Door* by which good Men enter into the Fold of *Christ*, and take the Charge of the Sheep, *not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy Lucre, but of a ready mind, that when the chief Shepherd shall appear, they may receive a Crown of Glory that fadeth not away:* And therefore our *Lord* the chief Shepherd tells us, He is the *Door:* By this Door, the *Apostles* and their

1 Pet. 5.

their Succeſſors entred, *and he that entreth not by this Door into the Sheepfold, but climbeth up ſome other way* (of Ambition) *is a Thief and a Robber.*

THIS high Truſt and Power over his Church, thus committed by *Chriſt* to his *Apoſtles*, and by them tranſmitted to their *Succeſſors*, for the management and governing of his Flock, was therefore given to all, that ſo they might preſerve their ſeveral *Charges* in Peace and *Unity*; and that one might not *bind* what another had *looſed*; that one might not *Abſolve* where another had *Excommunicated*; which *Rule* was ſtrictly obſerved in all Churches, however they differed in Circumſtantials, not admitting the *Outcaſts* of another Church into their *Communion*, till they had purged themſelves of the *Crimes* objected againſt them, if falſe, or reconciled themſelves by *Repentance*, if true; whereby they conſtantly maintained the *Unity* of Faith abroad, & the *Unity* of Government at home.

LET us now ſee how this Power of the Keys becomes impracticable, by admitting diverſity of Government in a *National* Church? And whether they who ſet up *Altar* againſt *Altar* among us are not thereby guilty of that Licentiouſneſs and *Impiety*, againſt which they make ſuch loud *Declamations*, endeavouring to lay that which is the ſpurious *Iſſue* of their *Separation*,

paration, at the *Door* of the preſent Governors and Paſtors of the *Church*?

ALL the Power which *Chriſt* left with the Governors of his Church, as before was ſaid, is the Power of *Excommunication*, whereby Notorius *Offenders* and Scandalous Sinners were debarred from the *Communion* of Saints on Earth, and without Repentance and *Abſolution*, from all hopes of *Pardon* here, or *Heaven* hereafter; if there be any truth or force in thoſe Words of *Chriſt*, *Whoſe ſins ye retain they are retained.* But now where there are Diſtinct *Collections* of Men who own no dependance one upon another, but though in the ſame *Nation*, yet live under different, and it may be quite contrary *Forms* of Government, one from another; as before was ſhewn there will be a total Ceſſation of *Charity*, as well as *Communion*: And whileſt theſe Differing *Congregations* of men make it their greateſt endeavour (perhaps out of miſtaken *Zeal*, perhaps out of ſome other Deſign of *Intereſt* or *Ambition*) to propagate their *Way*, and increaſe the Number of their *Proſelytes*, and with it the *Credit* and Profit of their Doctrine, they will refuſe none that ſhall deſire to joyn with them, and enter into their *Communion* and *Society*: And the greater and more notorious *Sinners* they have been, if they can but act their *Villanies*

nies more privately, and put on the *Sanctimonious* dress of Reformation, the greater will the *Miracle* of their Conversion appear; and the more Powerful and Efficacious will their *Preaching* seem, which draws such Sinners to *Conversion*: By this Means those who for any *Crimes*, fall under the *Censure* of another Church, and are by them rejected from *Communion*, shall find a *Sanctuary*, a Protection, nay and it may be an Esteem, in that Church to which they flye for *Refuge*; whilest they will certainly make their inclination to that *Party*, the principal occasion of their *Excommunication*; and the reason of their *Departure* from the one, and adherence to the other; Nor will that *Party* to which they make their retreat and *Application*, only willingly receive them, but be ready to *Exclaim* upon the Injustice of the *Censures* of that Church from whence they came, and their *Tyrannous* proceedings; which they will call *Persecution*, and suffering for *Conscience-sake*; then will they pronounce the *Nullity* of all such *Censures* against them, and (notwithstanding their standing *Excommunicate*) that by joyning with them, they shall certainly be admitted into the favour of *God*, and obtain an *Interest* in Heaven; and it may be more certainly for suffering this which they will call *Persecution for Righteousness sake*. Now from

from this way of *Procedure* these inconveniencies will necessarily follow.

First, The most Notorious Sinners shall be incouraged in their *Impenitence*, and shall be perswaded, that to be reconciled to *God Almighty*, there is no necessity of Submission, Repentance, or *Absolution*, from the Church which they have offended; but rather they shall be inspired with principles of Hatred and *Revenge* against the Church from which they are *Excommunicated*; and though they be denyed Salvation without Repentance in one *Church*, yet they can go to another, where they shall certainly meet with the Promise of it upon cheap and easie terms, *viz.* those of Joyning with them in their way of *Worship*.

Secondly, Hereby men come to have a mean and contemptible Opinion of the Power of the *Church*. And value *Excommunication* from any Church, no more than some idle Servants do to be turned out of their *Masters* Doors, who will presently tell you, that the *World* is wide enough, and if one will not, another will. That there are more Services to be had: So will this sort of *People* tell you, there are more Churches; and no question but where in any *Nation* this Principle is allowed, there would be almost as many Churches as *People*; and when once they

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are come to slight the *Censure* and the Church, they will never so much as think of being released from the Dangerous Bond of *Excommunication*, or to have their Sins remitted upon Earth, by the power of that Church which they have offended.

THIRDLY, Hereby others of the most *Loose* and Licencious Lives will be incouraged to continue impious and Irreligious, though owning no *Sect* or *Faction*: And coming by their *Example* to despise this Power of the true Church, and to look upon *Excommunication* as a thing of no Danger, they will value no Church; but abandon themselves to all manner of Wickedness, Irreligion and *Atheism*; and provided they can but scape the danger of *Humane Laws*, they will never trouble themselves about the *Ecclesiastical*.

FOURTHLY, People will in a little time come to believe, that the only Duty of the *Minister* consists in their abilities to Preach and Exhort; and that to Admonish and Correct is no part of their *Office*; and this being so easie a thing to be attain'd, and many times *Eloquence* (as before was observed) being a Natural *Talent*; Hereby Bold, Illiterate, Unexamined, Unqualified, Conceited, and *Pragmatical Opiniatres*, will invade the *Sacred Function*; by which means *Errors* will abound, new

Hereſies will ſpring up daily, and old ones revive, flouriſh, and increaſe without control or contradiction; the *Holy Sacraments* of the *Euchariſt* and *Baptiſm*, will be either neglected and laid aſide; or *prophaned* by unhallowed hands: and in ſhort, thoſe great *Miſchiefs*, which are ſo much feared, muſt break in upon us; either *Atheiſm*, or ſuperſtitious *will Worſhip*, the Commandments and *Traditions* of Wilful, Ignorant, and *Erroneous* Men; and when once the Church is trampled under foot by ſo many Sects, and *Hereſies*, Ignorance will daily get ground, and that ſets the Dore wide open, either to the dreaded thing call'd *Popery*, to *Paganiſm*, or the *Turkiſh Alchoran*, which comes with the faireſt Pretence, and the fineſt Dreſs to win their Favour.

I do heartily wiſh all this were ſpoken like the Prophecy of *Jonah* againſt the *Ninivites*; what was ſuch occaſion of grief and diſcontent to him, as to oblige him in a ſullen humor to wiſh to dye, would be to me the greateſt *Joy* of my Life: But *Experience*, that fatal *Miſtreſs*, has taught us the truth of ſome of theſe Effects, and may well give us terrible apprehenſions of what we may expect. For no ſooner can an *Offender* fall under the deſerved *Cenſure* of *Excommunication*, or but in the danger of it, but preſently he turns *Diſſenter*, is re-

received into the bosom of some *Sect* or *Faction*, and then he bids *Defiance* to all the Power of the Church, and fears nothing but the Secular Writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo*. Nay, I have my self heard some Persons boast of their being *Excommunicated*, and pretend to receive it as a favour, to be prohibited coming into the Church: from these mens contempt and vilifying of this dreadful *Sentence*, others who have no *Religion* have learned to despise it too; nor is there any thing in it formidable to them, besides the expence of their *Money* to the *Lay-Officers* of the *Ecclesiastical Courts*: and when once men come to place all their Religion in fear of the Secular Power, and have no other bridle upon their unruly Passions and Desires, besides the *Reins* of Humane Punishments and the Laws of the *Civil* Magistrate, it is not to be admired if they run headlong into *Brutish* Impiety and downright *Atheism*: and they who are taught to believe, (and easily learn the Lesson both by *Example* and Precept) that the *Priest* or *Bishop* has no more Power over their *Souls*, than over their *Bodies*, will not be long before they Despise both the *Persons* and their *Office*; and when men are arrived at that, for my part, I look upon their condition to be next to *Desperate*: for however they may please and

flatter themſelves in their *Gay* and *Jolly* humor of deſpiſing theſe contemptible *Prieſts*, the affront is really done to *God Almighty*, and I cannot ſee any great ſecurity in ſuch *Atheiſtical Drollery*. Hear ye Deſpiſers, and Tremble at what our Great *Lord* and *Saviour* ſays concerning
Luk. 10. 16. the 70 *Diſciples* whom he ſent abroad to Preach the *Goſpel of the Kingdom*. *He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me, and he that deſpiſeth me, deſpiſeth him that ſent me*; and
1 *Tim.* 4. 8. St. *Paul* is plain, *He that deſpiſeth, deſpiſeth not Man, but God.*

WHAT can be the End of this, but *Miſeſery* here, and *Eternal Damnation* hereafter. He that deſpiſed *Moſes Law died*
Heb. 10. 28, 29. *without Mercy; of how much ſorer puniſhment then are they worthy, who deſpiſe the Son of God?* which all thoſe do who deſpiſe his Servants the Governors of the Church, who are ſent by him; which if I do not prove, let them go on and deſpiſe; but if they are, let them have a care of falling into the hands of a *revenging God*, for
Heb. 12. 28. *it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God, for our God is a conſuming fire.* This is certainly the utmoſt deſpight to the *Spirit of Grace*, and the moſt unpardonable affront that can be offer'd to the *Divine* Clemency, and againſt which there is no remedy. A diſmal *Example* of

of which, we have in the *Nation* of the Jews: That God who proclaims himself *Merciful, slow to anger, of great Compassion, and that repenteth him of Evil*, after he had born all their Iniquities and Rebellions, could not bear with this; *For the Lord God of their Fathers sent to them his Messengers, rising up betimes and sending them, because he had compassion on his people, and on his dwelling place; but they mocked the Messengers of God, and despised his Words, and misused his Prophets, until the Wrath of God arose against them, and there was no remedy.* Then did the overflowing scourges come rolling upon them, *Fire* and Sword, and Captivity, Desolation and utter Subversion. *God* of his infinite Mercy have compassion upon his *People* and his dwelling Place, and turn the hearts of the *Despisers* and disobedient, to the Wisdom of the Just, that we may not despise our selves and *Nation* into such a Dismal and inevitable *Ruin*.

2 *Chron.* 36. 15, 16, *&c.*

Chap. IX.

THus have I shewn the Necessity that there is in every National Church, of Unity in point of Government, as well as Faith, upon a Religious account. Let us now come to Examine what Necessity

there is upon a Politique account, as we are united together into one *Community* of Men, as well as a Society of *Christians*.

We muſt conſider therefore, that *Religion* was deſigned to improve even our *Intereſt* in this *World* to the beſt advantage of Living, and that to put on *Chriſtianity*, we are not to put off *Humanity*, or by learning Obedience to *God*, to forget what we owe to our *Neighbour*, or our *King*. The *Eternal Prince* of *Peace* as well as *Truth*, came to Preach Peace unto All; not to Embroyl the *World*, or unſettle the *Thrones* of *Princes*, but to Eſtabliſh them; for the *Throne is Eſtabliſhed by Righteouſneſs*. That glorious *Heir* of all things, rejected the offer of all the *Kingdoms of the Earth*, and poſitively affirms, That his *Kingdom is not of this World*; and therefore when he took upon him *Humane Nature*, he own'd himſelf a Subject of the *Roman Empire*, and not only paid the *Tribute* for himſelf and Saint *Peter*, but Commands all men to do the ſame; and the great *Deſign* of the *Goſpel* which he came to Preach, was to make all men better in their ſeveral *Eſtates*, and *Capacities* of Life; better men, and therefore better *Subjects* to *Princes*. This was the particular Care of the *Church*, to inſpire the *Converts* to *Chriſtianity* with theſe

Pro. 16. 12.

Prin-

Principles of *Duty* and Obedience, ſo neceſſary to the *Peace* and Happineſs of the *World*. So St. *Paul* commands, *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher Powers*. Thus St. *Peter* Teaches and Commands, *Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lords ſake*: whether *it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governors, as unto them that are ſent by him for the puniſhment of Evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well: for this is the Will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men*. This being then one main *Deſign* of *Chriſtian Religion*, let us ſee of what Neceſſity, *Unity* in point of *Government* in the *Church*, is in order to it, and what influence it has upon the *Political Government* of a *Chriſtian State*.

Ro. 13. 1.

1 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 15.

The Root of all our *Miſeries*, *Diviſions*, and *Diſorders* is, That men take this for a *Principle*, *That they may be Diſobedient to Lawful Authority without danger of Damnation*: and ſo far has the miſchief of this fretting *Gangrene* ſpread it ſelf, that many *People* eſteem it a part of their *Religion* to diſobey the *Civil Power*, and think it is impoſſible for them to be ſaved, ſhould they be obedient to its Commands; which they think are inconſiſtent with the Commands of *God*. This *Error* muſt proceed either from *Malice*, or *Miſtake*; I will be

ſo charitable as to ſuppoſe, not from the firſt; and therefore looking upon it as the Child of *Ignorance*, I will endeavour to ſtate the Caſe truly, that ſo the Underſtanding of Men being informed by *Truth*, they may either be reformed, or left without Excuſe.

THE great Deſign of the infinitely glorious, good and Wiſe *Creator*, being the Happineſs of Mankind, he therefore proportioned a *Method* for the obtaining of it; and Man being *Created* with a double *Capacity* of Injoying Happineſs both here and hereafter, therefore did that Excellent *Wiſdom* appoint *Religion* as the *Way* and *Means* for attaining both; and for the accompliſhment of thoſe *Noble* and *Excellent Ends*, it is furniſhed with *Rules* and *Precepts*, which bear a double *Reſpect* to this double *Capacity*; one part Conducts us to *God* and *future* Happineſs in the *External* fruition of his grorious Preſence in Heaven; and the other Leads us to the Happineſs of this Mortal State, by the *Political Rules* of Living Well, with a mutual reſpect, not only to our own, but the happineſs of one another, by the lawful and moderate Uſe and Enjoyment of the inferior *Creation*, which *God* therefore made, *that he might ſhew his Glory, his Wiſdom, his Power, and his Goodneſs to the Sons of Men.* So that the ſum of all *Religion*

ligion in order to obtain this Happineſs, both here and hereafter, is to believe aright; and to Live Well: and both theſe are ſo *Eſſentially* neceſſary to *Salvation* that the one will not obtain it without the other; for *the Devils believe, though it makes them tremble.* Jam. 2. 19. To believe aright, we muſt refer our ſelves to thoſe *Divine Truths* which God has from Heaven revealed to us concerning himſelf and our Duty, the ſhort ſums of which *Faith* the *Church* has collected out of the Sacred Writings, in the three Famous *Creeds* of the *Apoſtles*, St. *Athanaſius*, and the *Councel* of *Nice.* To Live well, it is required, that a man ſubmits to all thoſe practical *Precepts* and Rules of Life which *God* has commanded in his *Will*, revealed in his holy Word, by *Juſtice*, *Temperance*, *Prudence*, *Chaſtity*, *Obedience*, &c. and for the attainment of Happineſs by theſe *Rules*, in this preſent Life, *God* has not left Men in a wild parity like *Brutes*, but has by the *Wiſdom* of his *Providence*, divided the *World* into ſuperior, and inferior Degrees of Men, Subjects and Soveraigns, intruſting one to Rule and Govern, and commanding the other to Obey; and for this he has left many *Poſitive* Commands, too well known, and too numerous to be here repeated.

THESE Powers thus Ordained of *God*, and

and armed with his Sword, *to execute Vengeance on them that do evil*, are vested with Authority to make such Decrees, Laws, and Sanctions, as in their Wisdom they shall *Judg* conducive to the Happiness of the *People* committed to their Charge; that so *they may be a Terror to evil Works, and encouragers of them that are Good.* And to them prosecuting this great and good Design, and to those Laws which do promote it, all men are bound to submit *not only for wrath, but for Conscience sake.* And it is impossible any man should be saved, who lives in a wilful Disobedience and that *Power*, and those *Commands*; and the Reason is, because all such Disobedience is a sin against *God* himself, against his *Positive Will* and *Command*; and I think there is no person who will be so hardy as to maintain in Words, however they may do it in *Actions*, that Salvation is to be had or hoped for, by such as live in manifest Disobedience to any one Command of *God*: For St. *James* assures us, that the keeping of the whole *Law*, will not countervail the wilful breach of one Point; but that whoever does so, is guilty of all; and he adds the Reason, *For he that said, Do not commit Adultery; said also, Do not Kill*: And he that said do not Kill, said also, *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers.* Now

Rom. 13. 5.

Jam. 2. 10, 11.

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to infer with him, *If thou commit no Adultery, If thou do not Kill*, yet if thou art not ſubject to the Higher Powers, *thou art become a Trangreſſor of the Law*, a Sinner before *God*, *For ſin is the tranſgreſſion of Gods Law*; and therefore as St. *John* tells us, *No Murderer has Eternal life abiding in him*; So neither has any who does not ſubmit to the Higher *POWERS*, any Eternal Life abiding in him, becauſe they are both Tranſgreſſors of the Holy Law and Commandment of *God*. 1 *Joh.* 3. 15.

THUS far, I think, all Men, Good and Bad, will go along with me; but the pinch of the *Queſtion* is, How far this Obedience is due, and what are the Limits of the *Authority* of *Superiors*? Whether the *Civil* or *Eccleſiaſtical* Magiſtrate ought to be Obeyed in all their Commands which concern *Religion*, or the *Worſhip* of *God*?

To this I Anſwer by diſtinguiſhing, according to the Old and True *Maxim* of *Logicians*, *Qui bené diſtinguit bené docet*. The commands therefore of *Superiors*, are either concerning *Faith* and *Manners*, or *Government* and *Order*. As to matters of *Faith*, neither the one nor the other have the leaſt power to alter, abrogate, impoſe, or diminiſh the leaſt Tittle, or *Iota* of it. For *Faith* being of *Divine Revelation*, and the *Law* by which *God Almighty* will have us guided in what concerns himſelf, is like him,

Im-

Immutable, and Unchangeable, and is only ſubject to his *Authority*, who is the *Author and the* Finiſher of our *Faith*. Now the true Faith is what is contained in Scripture, either in direct Words or plain Conſequence. This all *Chriſtian Kings*, Princes, and Governors, are bound to maintain, and ought to be its *Defenders*, but not to Invade or Uſurp a Dominion over it. And ſhould they make any *Law* to the prejudice of this *Faith*, no man ought to obey them; for here the *Rule* holds good, That we are to obey God rather than Men; but neither will this *Authorize* any Perſons who are *Subjects* to thoſe Powers, to Rebel againſt them, or Oppoſe them, more than by endeavouring with *Meekneß* and *Charity* to maintain that Faith. Nay, ſhould they impoſe *Penalties* upon ſuch as were diſobedient to their *Laws* in matters of *Faith*, 'tis the Glory of *Chriſtian Religion*, to teach men to ſuffer patiently, but not to ſeek *Revenge*, or to endeavour to free themſelves or the *Faith* from danger, by flying to unlawful *Arms*; which would be like *Uzzah*'s Folly, for which he was Smitten, to lay our hands upon the *Ark* when the *Oxen* ſtumble and ſhake it, and to ſuppoſe that *God* either would not, or could not, take any care to defend that *Faith* which he himſelf had planted in the *World*.

THIS was the Case of the *Apostles*; The *Chief Priest* and Counsel commanded them not to speak at all in the Name of *Jesus*; had they been so minded, they might have raised a *Tumult*, for the *Captain* and Officers who went to apprehend them, brought them without Violence, because they went without resisting, fearing as much as their Guards, lest the inraged People should rescue them by stoning the Officers: And when the *High Priest* charges them with Disobedience to his Commands, St. *Peter* tells them it was a matter of *Faith*, what they had seen and heard, and were commanded by the *Son* of *God* to Preach, whom they ought to obey rather than Men. This was the Case of the *Primitive Christians* under the Heathen and persecuting *Emperors*: Did the *Emperor* command them to his *Wars*, they went willingly, Fought gallantly, sometimes purchast Victories with their *Prayers* as well as Sword; Did he exact *Tribute* from them, they paid it freely; Command to renounce *Christ*, or to Blaspheme him, or to offer but a single grain of Incence to the *Idols*, or *Emperors Statue*, though to save their Lives, they refused presently; Did he take away their Estates, for their Disobedience to his *Edicts*, they suffer'd patiently; Did he expose them to *Racks*, *Tortures*, *Wild beasts*, and *Flames*, they Act. 4. 3.

they went to them joyfully, indured them miraculously, and so obtain'd the Glorious *Crown* of *Martyrdom:* All this while not a hand lift up against the *Lords* Anointed, their *Soveraign*, unless to *Heaven*, to pray to *God* for his Pardon and Conversion; not a Tongue moves against his Government, to call it Tyrannical, Unlawful, or *Antichristian*, though in reality it was such: Not a Pen is sharpned against him or his *Ministers* of State; no invectives or Exhortations to *Rebellion*, to depose or *Murder* him; and indeed nothing farther than to *Apologize* for their *Innocence*, and to manifest that they were his most obedient Subjects, and free from all the *Calumnies* of being Seditious Disturbers of the Government or *Peace* of the *Empire*.

The same may be said of Good *Manners*, as of *Faith*, for *Justice*, *Temperance*, *Innocence*, and *Purity*, being Commands of God, no Earthly power can either dispence with them, or lawfully command the contrary *Vices*; or if they do, they may, nay, ought to be disobey'd.

But Secondly, The Commands of our Superiors may concern *Order* and *Government*; and herein they ought Universally to be obey'd, as well in *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil* Laws and Commands, provided they do not herein manifestly or by consequence

Oppose

Oppoſe *Faith* or Good Manners, and that for theſe Reaſons.

FIRST, Becauſe *Order* is abſolutely Neceſſary as well in the *Church* as in the *State*, and is Poſitively commanded by *God*; *Let every thing be done Decently and in Order*, and that for a moſt ſolid and weighty Reaſon; *For God is not the Author of Confuſion, but of Peace, as in all the Churches of the Saints.* Confuſion is abſolutely unlawful, *God* diſowns it: *Peace* is abſolutely Neceſſary in all Churches of *Saints*; without *Order* there can be no *Peace*, nor indeed any thing but *Confuſion*; without Governors, to appoint, and determine Differences ariſing about *Modes* and Matters of Decency, there can be no *Peace*, becauſe Differences muſt be endleſs, and without *Submiſſion* to theſe Governors, and their final *Determinations*, both in *Church* and *State*, they are no longer Rulers and Governours; but the *Order* which *God* has appointed in the *World*, to procure Peace and Happineſs, is utterly Subverted and Overthrown: For Government and Obedience do mutually ſuppoſe each other; and as *Logicians* ſay, *Pater eſt filii Pater*, a Father is therefore a Father becauſe he has a Child, ſo a Governor, a *King*, a Magiſtrate in *Church* or *State*, is therefore ſuch, becauſe he has People ſubject and obedient to him; and as all the

1 Cor. 14. 40.

Verſ. 33.

Power

Power of Governors is limited to those things which are left undetermined by *Gods Positive Laws*, so all the Obedience of Subjects is confined to their Determinations, in those particulars which *God* has left wholy in the Power of our *Superiors*: and who ever resists, or refuses to Obey, *shall therefore receive Damnation*, because he destroys the very *Essence* and End of Government; and in saying, *We will not have this man Raign over us*, acts directly contrary to the Will of *God*, who says he shall, and that we must *Obey* him, in order to the *Peace* and Happiness of the *World*, the due Administration of *Justice*, the Encouragement of Virtue, and Practice of *Religion*, by leading quiet Lives under our *Superiors*, in all Godliness and Honesty; by which Method we can only hope to arrive at Eternal Happiness in *Heaven*.

But Secondly, Because all *Ecclesiastical Laws* which concern the *Order* and Government of the *Church*, are of a mixt *Nature*, *Political* as well as *Religious*; and so are all Humane and *Civil Laws* too; and therefore there is the same reason for Obedience to the one as to the other: and they do both equally bind the *Conscience* to *Obedience*: The same *Power* makes the one, as makes the other; the same *Reason* is the Foundation of the one, as of the other,

ther, they are addreſſed to the ſame End; *viz.* the *Peace*, Happineſs, and Proſperity of the *People*, and therefore there is the ſame obligation to Obedience for the one as the other; and all Men are bound in *Conſcience*, as Members of a *Society*, to promote the Peace, and welfare of that *Society*; which is not to be obtained any other Way, but by obeying the Command of *God*, in being ſubject to the *Government* of that *Society* of which we are Members. Obſerve the Command of *God* to the Captive *Jews* at *Babylon*; *Seek the Peace of the City whither I have cauſed you to be carried away Captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the Peace thereof ye ſhall have Peace.* So that if *Peace* and Happineſs be the End of *Society*, all Men are bound to Pray for it, and promote it. If the End be Commanded by God, the Means to obtain that End muſt be Obeyed; and *God* having intruſted the Governors of Church and State with the Means and Way of procuring this Happineſs, their Choice of ſome, among all the variety of Expedients that may be offer'd, muſt determine their Subjects, and becomes the *Rule* of their Obedience, as well in *Eccleſiaſtical* as *Civil Affairs*; for if it were poſſible to ſeparate theſe two, then ſomething might be ſaid; but the *Peace* of the *State* depending upon the *Peace* of the *Jer.* 29. 7.

Church, and *vicê versa*, No man can truely be said to promote the one by destroying the other. And therefore all men who are obliged to indeavour to advance one, must do it by advancing *both*.

To make this clear, I will give an *Instance* of the *Power* of the *Civil Magistrate* in the Church, in matters of Order and Government. *David*, a man after *Gods* own Heart, in the Worship of God, which was left Undetermined, he takes upon him to regulate the *Church*; he Orders the *Levites* to appoint Singers on Instruments of *Musick*, *and Psalteries*, *and Harps*, *Cymbals*, *and sounding by lifting up the Voice with joy*. They never stood to dispute with him, because *God* had not commanded it, that therefore it was Unlawful; but because *God* had not any where Prohibited it, and he was their *King*, and might Command what was for decency and order in the Service of *God*, therefore they ought to *Obey*; and immediately they appoint *Heman*, *and Asaph*, *and Ethan*, and several others for that Service. *David*, and, after his Example, others frame and compose *Anthems*, *Psalms* of Praise and Thanksgiving, in set forms of Words to praise *God*, *Because he is gracious*, *and his Mercy endureth for ever*. Do the *Priests* and *Levites* now quarrel, because they are not permitted to shew their *Parts*, *Gifts*, and

1 Chron. 15. 16.

and *Abilities*, in making *Extempore Hymns*, or Prayers? No such matter: but presently in Obedience to *God* and the *King*, they make use of those prescribed, which are contained in the Book of *Psalms*, the Ancient *Liturgy* of the *Jewish Church*. This order was after continued by *Solomon*, and approved by *God*; *For it came to pass, as the Trumpeters, and Singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard, in praising and thanking the Lord; and when they lift up their Voice with the Trumpets and Cymbals, and Instruments of Musick, and praised the Lord, saying, For he is good, for his Mercy indureth for ever, that the house was filled with a Cloud, even the House of the Lord.* 2 Chron. 5. 13.

So that the result of all is this, That the *Supreme Power* of a *Nation*, being of *Gods* appointment for the Ruling of the *People* in order to their Happiness, and commanding nothing contrary to *Faith* or good Manners, or any thing Prohibited by *God* himself, ought to be obeyed by all their *Subjects* of what *Degrees* or *Conditions* soever, in all their *Laws*, *Ecclesiastical*, and *Civil*, in order to good Government, *Decency*, and *Order*, both in Church and State: and that since all these Commands of theirs are in Obedience to *Gods* Commands, and in prosecution of the great Design of Happiness here, and *Eternally*, by promoting *Peace*, *Unity*, and *Concord*,

therefore no *Person* can resist that Power by Disobedience, but he resists the Ordinance of *God*, and becomes a Transgressor to *God* as well as Man; and runs the hazzard of *Eternal Damnation*, due to all those *who know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Let *Dissenters* therefore either prove, that the *Supreme Powers* are not *Lawful*, that their *Authority* does not Extend to the *Political* part of *Ecclesiastical* Affairs, that they have nothing to do to determine Differences, that the things commanded are contrary to *Faith*, and a holy *Life*, are not conducive to *Peace*, *Unity*, and the happiness of the *Nation*, or that they are any where in direct Words or evident Consequence prohibited by *God* in *Scripture*; or otherways they will never be able to prove that they are bound in *Conscience* to disobey *Authority*. Let them not think to shelter themselves under the vain refuge, that *God* is to be obeyed rather than Men. This is that which proves them Disobedient, for they do not disobey Men, but *God*, in disobeying Lawful *Authority*, when commanding nothing contrary to the Commands of *God*. And whoever does so, is managed not by the *Principles* of *Religion*, but the *Power* of *Interest*, *Prejudice*, or *Ambition*.

In short, Is any *Form* of Government Law-

Lawful or Neceſſary in the *Church?* that it is, they affirm, in deſiring to Eſtabliſh their own; is Obedience neceſſary to Salvation? they will tell you, it is; Let them therefore be their own *Judges.* For if Obedience to their Laws and Government be neceſſary to Salvation, it muſt be becauſe their *Authority* is Lawful, for that is the *Rule* of *Conſcience*; and if the preſent *Authority* be *Lawful*, and theirs *Uſurped*, then is their Diſobedience Damnable, and their Obſtinacy inexcuſable, by their own *Judgment.* And if we do not prove the preſent Government Lawful, and of *Gods* appointment, both the *Civil*, and Eccleſiaſtical, *Phillida ſolus habeto.* And till they have proved themſelves Lawful *Powers*, and the preſent *Government* Unlawful, let them be obedient to its Decrees and Determinations, as thoſe Laws reſpect the good of the *Civil* Society, if they will not, as they reſpect the *Religious.*

Chap. X.

HAving proceeded thus far in ſhewing the *Deſign* of the Outward Government of the *Church*, to have a *Political* Reſpect, as well as Temporal *Laws*, to the happineſs and well-being of Humane *So-*

ciety, as well as a *Religious* Reſpect to future *Felicity*, and that therefore upon this double account our Obedience is due to the *Eccleſiaſtical Laws* as well as the *Temporal*; to which yet no *Diſſenters* will own Diſobedience to be Lawful, becauſe *without Laws*, *no Living*; and for the ſame reaſon therefore, Obedience to both, is a neceſſary part of *Religion*; in the next place let us ſee how neceſſary therefore this *Unity* in point of Government in the *Church* is upon this *Political* account, in order to the happineſs of the *Society*, which is the End of all *Laws* and all *Religion* in this preſent ſtate of Life.

And this, I conceive, cannot better be done than by ſhewing the dangerous influence which *Diſunion* in point of Government in the *Church*, has upon the *Civil* Affairs of any *Nation*.

As true *Religion* makes men the beſt *Subjects*, ſteddy in their *Loyalty*, and *Allegiance*, Faithful in their Truſts and Services, induſtrious to promote the *Common Good*, obedient to their *Superiors*, kind to their *Equals*, and humble to their *Inferiors*, and always Religious obſervers of the *Laws* of *God* and Man: So *Falſe Opinions*, when entertain'd for true *Religion*, ever render Men the *Worſt*. And if there were nothing more in it, yet would it be the great *Intereſt* of *Princes* to endeavour to

to propagate *Christian Religion* in its greatest Purity; and to discountenance *Errors*, *Heresies*, *Sects*, and *Schisms*, as the best Expedient to secure themselves, and Establish their *Thrones* upon the immoveable *Basis* and sure *Foundation* of the good *Conscience* of their *Subjects*: For this surpasses all the *Obligations* of *Laws*, all the *Powers* of *Arms*, and all the *Arts* of *Policy*. *Laws* without *Conscience* are like *Sampsons* green *Withs*, which armed *Interest*, and successful *Ambition*, attended on with Fiery *Zeal*, will break to pieces, *as a thred of Tow when it touches the Flame.* Jud. 16. 9. The most Powerful *Arms* have no intail of *Victory*; and though the *Sword* be a very good Guard for the *Sceptre*, yet if the *Sceptre* turns into a *Sword*, a thousand *Instances* will shew, that it lays a slippery Foundation for a *Crown*; which always stands most firm when set upon the Head of *Princes* by Love and Affection, and not by the trembling hand of *Fear*. The deepest *Politicians* are sometimes *Men*, shallow and fordable; subject to be deceived, and their Counsels like *Achitophels* may be defeated and turned into *Folly*. But *Religion*, were it Universally practised, *Princes* might disband those *Auxiliary* Succours of the Crown, together with their *Fears* that raise them, and might send their *Jealousies*, those Envious Tormentors both of *Crowns* and

Cottagers, into perpetual *Baniſhment*. For that teaches to ſmother *Treaſon* in the thought, and prevents the Neceſſity of *Axes* and *Scaffolds*: *Curſe not the King not in thy thought*, is *God*'s Command, which they will not Tranſgreſs, to gain the *Empire* of the World, and loſe their Souls. *Innocence* is their *Profeſſion*, *Peace*, their Study, *Integrity*, the joy of their *Lives*, the delight of their *Minds*, and the pleaſure of their *Deaths*; Not all the ſtorms of *Afflictions*, not all the ſhining *Glories* of the *Univerſe*, can tempt them to throw off the White Mantle of unſtained Innocence, that *Ermine* of *Religion*. Not all the tempting witchcrafts of Dominion, Riches, Honour, or Advantage, can prevail with them to do the leaſt *Injury* wilfully to their pooreſt *Neighbour*, much leſs then to thoſe Sacred Perſons, who are *Gods* on Earth; and the true Chriſtian, if it were put to his choice, had rather ſit with *Job*, cloathed with Aſhes, Miſeries, and Integrity, upon the Dunghil of *Poverty*, than be lifted from thence by the hand of *Injuſtice* or *Violence*, to ſit among Princes, and wear the Dreaded *Imperial Purple*.

Eccleſ. 10. 20.

THIS is the happy Temper of *Religion*, which teaches the *Prince* that Excellent *Moderation*, to be ſo far from treading upon the Necks of his *Subjects*, that he will not

not tread upon the Heels of their *Properties* or their Priviledges; and in all his Laws to ſtudy their Intereſt as his own. This teaches Subjects *to ſtudy to be Quiet*; and in ſtead of making *Seditions*, *Mutinies*, or *Rebellions*, to make Devout and continual *Supplications*, *Prayers*, *Interceſſions*, *and giving of Thanks for Kings and all that are in Authority, that ſo they may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty*: For this they are taught *is acceptable in the ſight of God our Saviour*. Nor will they venture to cut off the leaſt Skirt of *Prerogative*, the lawful *Inheritance* of their *Prince*, to inlarge their own; or take one *Jewel* out of his *Crown*, to Adorn or Inrich themſelves withall: They will not Deplume the *Royal Eagle* of his, to Feather their own Neſts. The thirſt of *Ambition*, which cannot be quenched with any thing but the Illuſtrious Blood of *Soveraigns*, is an abſolute Stranger to their very thoughts, and they will rather ſacrifice their own Lives and *Fortunes*, than ſee his in Danger. All their Deſires are confined to a little here, and their *Ambition* aſpires lawfully after no other Crown but that of a Glorious *Immortality*.

1 *Theſſ.* 4. 11.

1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2, 3.

Now to the obtaining of any tollerable Degrees of this Happy *State*, as there is *one God*, *one Faith*, *one Baptiſm*, ſo it is abſolutely

absolutely Necessary, that in one *Nation* there be one Form of Government in the *Church* as well as *State:* And that if it be not possible that all *People* should be of one Mind, as to matters of *Opinion*, yet that they should be of one Mind as to *Obedience* to Government in *Church* and *State*, which is matter of *Faith*. And it is but highly Reasonable, that private *Opinion* should confine it self to private Breasts, 'its proper *Sphere*, and not be permitted to walk abroad to affront *Authority* and the publique *Peace*, Interest and Happiness of a whole *Nation*, no more than particular Gain is suffered to undo the Publick Stock.

Difference in *Opinion* may well be Tollerated, and indeed cannot be avoided; but yet were men managed by *Modesty*, though not *Religion*, there need be no Mischief from it; But to publish *Private Opinion* for Publique and necessary Truth, and to endeavour to impose it upon others, and upon *Authority* it self, is a practice of the most pernicious Usurpation and Consequence in any Government: For this Opposition of *Opinions* naturally produces a Disunion of Mind, absolutely Destructive of Government, which is to Unite all the Members of a Society into one common *Body*, of which Unity is the *Soul*; and whatsoever be the Cause of this *Disunion*, the Effect is always an Alienation

nation of Affections among thoſe who differ one from another: Now as there is nothing that makes ſo cloſe a *Union* in the minds of Men, as their concurrence in the ſame thoughts, Judgment, and Sentiments about any Matters, eſpecially thoſe of *Religion*; So there is nothing that makes ſo great and Irreconcilable Diſtances between *People*, as their being and owning themſelves of differing *Judgments* and Opinions. For *Religion* is like a Common *Centre*, in which all the Lines of mutual Kindneſs meet, and are United together in an indiviſible *Point*: And we do more paſſionately love thoſe who reſemble us in our thoughts, than in our outward *Lineaments* and Proportions; and have a natural *Averſion* for thoſe who are unlike us in our *Thoughts*: And the reaſon is, becauſe this *Diſcord* robs us of the pleaſure of *Life*, which is *Society*; and where the entertainment conſiſts in mutual Jarrs, and endleſs Diſputings, continual Contradictions, of which all men are impatient, the Converſation muſt needs be *diſagreeable*; for who ever contradicts another, ſuppoſes himſelf more *wiſe*, and the other fooliſh; and where the knowledg of theſe differences is manifeſt, even in their ſilent *Interviews*, it defeats them of all the pleaſure of Converſe and *Society*, and makes men uneaſie in the very

very *Company* of those who are neither beloved by them, nor love them; as all men believe of those who oppose them, and differ from them in their *Judgments*. So that it is not to be expected they should be ready to do those good *Offices* one for another, in order to the Common Good of the *Society*; but rather all the Mischiefs and *Injuries* which they can, as *Enemies*; as all esteem those who are not United to them by Love and Kindness; and how happy any *Society* is like to prove, that is thus disjoynted in it self, is not difficult to conjecture.

But these *Animosities* are extreamly heightened, in regard there is always something more than bare *Opinion* in the *Difference*, and that it is impossible totally to separate *Interest* from *Religion*, and that therefore no man can look upon another as directly invading the one, without *obliquely* designing against the other; and what ever *Passion* men may have for their *Religion*, they are inseparably married to their *Interest*; & the thred of that is twisted with the *Stamina Vitæ*, being indeed esteemed Essential both to the being & well-being of the *Body*: For it is not in *Religion* as it is in *Philosophical* Contests, where how eager soever men may appear to defend a *Paradox*, yet they are not Solicitous whether it be true or false; for what matters

it

it between two hot *Combatants*, whether there be any Land in the *Moon* or not? Since though there be, they have no *Manors* nor *Lordships* there; and if there be not, they are never the poorer of a Farthing.

But in the Quarrels of *Religion*, there is always a *Meum* and *Tuum*; and Men ſuſpect not without good Reaſon, that the difference of *Opinion* is but the Colour or Pretext, it is *Intereſt* that is the firſt Mover, and the Ultimate *Deſign*; and this prevents all hope of Reconciliation, till one party do either voluntarily or by conſtraint relinquiſh their pretences to the others Right; for he who will invade the *Poſſeſſion* of what another enjoys, by endeavouring to be a *Diſſeiſor*, becomes an *Enemy*: And there are few who arrive to that height of ſelf-denial, to hate themſelves, that they may love their *Enemies*, or to expoſe themſelves to the Inconveniences of cold Nakedneſs and Hunger, which Nature abhors, that they may feed and cloth their *Enemies*: nor does *Charity* command it; for though that Compaſſionate *Grace* look abroad for *Objects* of *Pity*, yet ſhe always begins her Work at home; nor is any man obliged to pray for, or love his Enemies, ſo as not *to provide for his own Family*, and by *Charity*, *to deny the Faith, and be worſe than an Infidel.* Such *Saints* 1 Tim. 5. 8.

are

are *Martyrs* of the *Greek Calends*. And no person can Esteem such as endeavour to devest him either of Power, Authority, Estate, or Possession, Honor, or Profit, but as his particular *Enemy*, and an *Enemy* to *God* and *Religion*, which commands, that no man should invade anothers *Right*, in that great Command, *Thou shalt not Covet*.

Now where there are several distinct *Churches* in the same *Nation*, there being both *Power*, and *Maintenance* annexed to the Office of the *Clergy*, they will necessarily incroach one upon another; and because what the one gains, the other must loose, the contrariety of *Interests* will widen the Difference between them, even to the utmost Extremity of *Hatred* and *Animosity*: and whilst every *Church* will labour to *agrandize* it self both in *Riches* and *Power*, by lessening the Esteem, Honour, Power, and Revenues of the other, it will become a quarrel of *Interest* as well as *Religion*: and let any person, if he can, Justifie a *Principle*, that, by maintaining *Domestique Quarrels*, must be ruinous to *Society*, and all the *Peace* and Happiness of the present state of Life, under the fair pretence of *Religion*.

Let *Dissenters* tell us what they please; and if their dislike of the Government in the *Church* is purely upon the account of *Reli-*

Religion; former *Experience* has made the World sufficiently sensible, that the Dignity, Power, and Revenues of the *Church* were the greatest *Crimes* of the Government. And that they who could not approve of those Honors, Titles, and Estates in *Bishops*, and the dignified *Clergy*, could yet very well digest both their *Power* and Revenues, when they came by the *Sacrilegious* hands of *Usurping Powers* to be conferr'd on themselves.

And as these *Quarrels* will be most certain, so they will be Endless and *Eternal*: for admit once of many *Forms* of Church Government in the same *Nation*, and no sooner shall one be uppermost, but the *Envy* of the others, and their fear lest they should be crush't, or overshadowed by it, will make all the lesser *Churches* conspire, for their common Security and *Interest*, to undermine and overthrow it. And when they have by that joynt confederation Effected that, then will the most Powerful of the Victorious *Party*, step and Exalt it self into the Place and *Power* of the former: which will procure it the Hatred of all the rest, who will not fail by the same *Arts* and *Methods* to dismount that, and Establish themselves: by which means there will be no end of *Factions*, *Quarrels*, and *Ambitions*, striving who shall be the Uppermost. All this while *Religion* will be the Pretence, but

but the *State* ſhall really ſuffer; and it being as impoſſible to ſeparate them, as to puniſh the Chriſtian, and not the Man, it muſt be under all the moſt violent Agitations and *Tempeſts*, and at laſt ſuffer moſt certain Shipwrack.

THIS was the true ſtate of our Caſe in *England*, during our late Revolutions; the Church, and Religion were made to lead the Dance, but according to the *Scotch Prophecy*, *The State of* England *Paid the Piper*; for the *Presbyterians*, in pretence *Religious*, but in reality *Envious* of the great Power, Honors, and Eſtates of *Epiſcopacy*, never left till by *Arts* and *Arms*, perſwading the Credulous *Vulgar*, that it was *Popiſh*, and *Antichriſtian*, and animating their Party in their *Rebellion*, with promiſes of *Heaven*, and the *Churches Revenue* for a Booty; *God Almighty* was pleaſed, for our ſins, to permit them to be ſo ſucceſsful as to overthrow that Government, after it had ſtood above a thouſand years in *England*. No ſooner had *Presbytery* taken Poſſeſſion of *Naboth*'s Vinyard, he being ſtoned and dead, but they became as Odious to the *Independents*, who with more cunning and Addreſs, and leſs trouble, gently laid them aſide as *Babyloniſh* too; and notwithſtanding all their Exclamations from the *Pulpit* and the *Preſs*, both in their Prayers and Sermons, they could

not

not prevail either with *God* or *Men* to hear them, or ſupport their ſinking Cauſe, but their Companions mocked them as the *Prieſts* of *Baal*, as *Elijah* did; and as they had done thoſe of the Church of *England*. And had not the *God* of Mercy and *Compaſſion* pitied us in our Low Eſtate, when we lay in the Duſt, by miraculouſly reſtoring our *Soveraign* to his Crown, and with him the *Church* to her right, no doubt but the Power and Revenue of the *Church* would have been a perpetual Prize, and *England* the Bloody *Theatre* upon which every Church would have Acted their *Part*, and indeavoured to have their turn of being Uppermoſt.

And if we could ſuppoſe that the preſent *Diſſenters* are only influenced by miſtaken *Zeal* for the *Glory* of *God*, the Purity of *Religion*, and the Salvation of Mens Souls, and not the Deſtruction of their Bodies and Eſtates, with that of the Government; Yet can they give us no aſſurances, or if they can, they will not, that they or their *Succeſſors* ſhall continue in the ſame Undeſigning *Innocence*. And ſince theſe are ſuch ſpecious and taking Pretences with the Deceivable and Eaſy *Multitude*, who can promiſe, but that *Ambition* may put on the Cloak of *Maliciouſneſs*, and call it *Religious Reformation*: that cunningly Diſſembled *Pride* may ſhel-

ter it ſelf under the ſhining habit of pretended *Piety* and *Purity*? and that Coveteouſneſs, the root of all Evil, may not appear in the borrowed Robes of *Sanctity*? Theſe *Impoſtors* may eaſily furniſh a furious *Jehu* with Masks and Vizzards of *Religion*, to impoſe upon many innocent *Jehonadabs*, and take them up with him into the Charriot of *Rebellion*; whilſt with the ſame *Popular* and Inſinuating Courtſhip, he ſhall ſalute them kindly, with, *Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thine? if it be, give me thy hand.* Which with him they will be ready to do, and to lend their aſſiſtance to the *Confederation*, eſpecially upon hopes of being advanced, and taken up with him into the *Charriot* of Government; and hurried away with the tempting invitation, *Come with me, and ſee my Zeal for the Lord.* Though all this *Zeal* was meerly *Intereſt*, and *Ambition*, to Eſtabliſh the *Crown* to himſelf, by the utter Extirpation of the Houſe of *Ahab*, and not one dram of true *Religion*, as the ſequel of the ſtory made appear. And how eaſy is it for *Hypocriſie* to put on any ſhape, and to appear an innocent *Lamb*, when in reality it is a ravening *Wolf*? how eaſy for *Ambitious* Spirits to pretend the Glory of *God*, whilſt they only deſign their own; to decry all *Forms* of *Prayer*, and *Godlineſs*, and appear *Zealous* promoters

2 *Kings* 10. 15, 16.

ters of the Power of *Religion*, only to advance themſelves to Greatneſs and *Power*: and under pretence of gaining Souls to *God*, to make a *Gain* of *Godlineſs*, and by ſacrificing all to their *Covetouſneſs*, to make Godlineſs great Gain? how feaſible is it for Men to ſet up the *Standard* of *King Jeſus*, and make a Stale of a fifth *Monarchy*, and under the *Scepter* of Chriſt to invade the *Scepter* of his Anointed, and to Uſurp his *Throne*?

THESE are eaſy Suppoſitions of what may be the Dangerous *Conſequences* of that *Diſunion* in a Nation, which proceeds from admitting various *Forms* of Church Government in the ſame Nation: Nor are they bare Suppoſitions, but real *Truths*, and what has been done, and lately done among us, and what may therefore be done again. If there are any *Perſons* who will own the Lawfulneſs of ſuch dangerous *Conſequences*, as drown a Chriſtian *Nation* in Blood, Miſery, and Confuſion, or can but rationally be ſuppoſed that they may indanger it; let them adhere to the *Principle* of tollerating diverſe *Forms* of *Church Government*, which is the ready *Way* to reduce thoſe Suppoſitions into theſe moſt pernicious *Realities*: and if it be ſo, as no doubt can be made, let all *Diſſenters* either acknowledge that theſe *Opinions* are the Common *Peſts* of *Hu-*

mane Society, as well as *Religion*, and therefore abandon them, and reunite with the Government, from which they are broke loose; or if they will persist in maintaining, defending, spreading, and increasing these *Inhumane Principles* and *Practices* in the minds of Men, both by their *Doctrine* and *Example*; Let them not think us uncharitable, if, as all sober and truly Pious and Judicious men must, an *Estimate* be made of them, according to the future Consequences, and not their present Appearances; which, for any thing can be known to the Contrary, may be only double-guilt *Hypocrisie*, and that is in truth double-di'd *Iniquity*.

Simulata Pietas, duplex Iniquitas.

If they did not foresee these Mischiefs, they are now shewn them, and if upon Notice and *Warning* given they do not indeavour to avoid them, we cannot remain *Masters* of common sense, but we must believe they intend them; and if we do believe that, we may very lawfully not only *Pray* against them for the *Peace* of *Jerusalem*, *To be delivered from Unreasonable Men*; but the *Government* may and ought to take care of it self, and those under its Charge, who are Obedient, and truly *Fear God and the King*, to secure them from such wicked Attempts. In the Law of *Moses*, which was given by Gods Command, if an *Ox* were wont to push, and

2. *Thess.* 3. 2. ἀπὸ τ ἀτόπων, *from such men as are out of place, disorderly, and not deserving therefore any place in society.*

Exod. 21. 29.

and the Owner had warning, and did not take Care to prevent it, he was to make good the Dammage either with his Life, or his Eſtate; if a man digged a Pit, and any thing fell into it, he was to make reſtitution: let me infer with St. *Paul*, *Doth God take care of Oxen?* and ſhall no care be taken of Chriſtians? *or ſaith he it altogether for our ſakes? for our ſakes no doubt this is written, that we may plough in hope, and ſow in hope, and be made partakers of our hopes*, by reaping the quiet and peaceable fruits of Righteouſneſs. That theſe *Principles* have puſht againſt *Government* in times paſt, is moſt notorious; and one may truly ſay of them, as *Rehum* the Chancellor of *Artaxerxes* ſaid falſly of the City of *Jeruſalem*, *If ſearch be made in the Book of Records of our Fathers, we ſhall find and know, that theſe Principles are Rebellious Principles, and hurtful unto Kings and Provinces, and that they have moved Sedition in former times.* Tragical Remembrances are ſtill freſh: how with their *Horns* of *Iron* they puſh't, and wounded, and murder'd the *Church* and *State*; and how thouſands of innocent ſouls fell into the *Pit* of Diviſion, which they had open'd, Nay, *The breath of our Noſtrils, the anointed of the Lord was taken in their Pits.* And if they will ſtill be puſhing, and ſtill make the Pit wider and

1 Cor. 9. 9, 10.

Ezr. 4. 15.

Lam. 4. 20.

deeper, they cannot but know what they deserve, both by the *Law* of *God*, by the *Law* of *Nature*, which teaches all *Creatures* self Preservation; by the *Law* of *Nations*, which designs the common good and happiness of *Mankind*; and by the *Law* of our *Land*, which is made to secure the *Peace*, and *Prosperity* of the Society; of which all such are unworthy Members, or to speak truth, rather the Diseases, καθάρματα, than parts of the Body *Politick*, both in *Church* and *State*.

But supposing the best that we can, in admitting of different *Forms* of Church Government in the same *Nation*, and that they should have no *Seditious* Intentions, or Inclinations, yet would it be impossible to Cure the *Prince* or the *People* of those mutual *Fears* and *Jealousies*, the uneasie Companions of Mens minds, which rob the one of the *Pleasure* of their *Crowns*, and the other of the *satisfaction* of their *Lives* which must spring from this *Fountain*; and which will load the Government with continual *Cares*, and put it upon such immoderate *Watchings*, as will scarce permit it to *sleep*, and however will not suffer even the sleep of those who labour in it to be sweet unto them. For we must either suppose the *Supreme* Governor to be of *Gallio*'s Faith, *and that he cares for none of these things*; or (which would

Act. 18. 17.

be

be as kind to him) that he is of the *Grand Signiors* Religion, whom one may well place, as the *Italian* Painter did one of our *Kings*, between *Moſes*, *Mahomet*, and *Meſſiah*, with a *Quòme vertam Neſcio* in his mouth; or we muſt ſuppoſe him to joyn with ſome one of theſe *Churches*. For ſhould he to day go to the *Cathedral*, and to morrow to the *Conventicle*; one while to the *Bull and Mouth* to a ſilent Meeting, another reſort to the *Anabaptiſts*, and ſo walk the round of *Religions*, every one of theſe would doubt him not to be of their *Church*; and by endeavouring to oblige all *Religions*, he would be ſuſpected to have no *Religion* at all: and ſhould he firmly adhere to any one, he would thereby diſoblige all the reſt; who would be *Jealous* that he did not love them, that he only *Tollerates* them *pro tempore*, for his convenience, or to ſerve the *Intereſt* of his *Affairs*, and that if he were ſettled and ſecured at home and abroad, he would retrench their Liberty. And by how much both he believed and they knew, that their Mutual *Safety* and *Security* were inconſiſtent one with another, by ſo much more their *Fears* and *Jealouſies* of each other would encreaſe; this would neceſſitate them to create him troubles and Difficulties in his Government at home and abroad, that ſo the fear of greater Inconve- *Paſquil. Hm.* 8.

niencies in oppoſing or ſuppreſſing them, might make any attempts to ſecure himſelf that *way*, dangerous and Impracticable; that ſo by being unſecure for him, they might ſecure themſelves: Theſe *Practices* and underhand *Artifices* and Correſpondencies with *Forrein Powers* to ballance his, or give him *Diverſions*, muſt of neceſſity render any *Prince* Jealous of them, for no *Prince* can be free from fears and jealouſies, who does not beleive himſelf ſecure, and no *Prince* can think himſelf ſo, who daily finds his *Subjects* uſing all Arts imaginable to traverſe his Deſigns, and aſperſe his Government, by raiſing Fears and Jealouſies of his Deſigns againſt their *Religion* or *Liberty*, and continually perverting all *Occurrences* of *State*, not only to Eſtabliſh thoſe ſuſpicions in the minds of their own *Party*, but to make uſe of them as *Engines*, to draw in others to joyn and ſide with them; by perſwading them that if they do not, *All will be loſt*; Priviledg, Property, and *Religion*, will all be ſwallowed up by *Prerogative*. And every ſeveral *Sect* having gain'd the *Opinion* among their Followers, that theirs is the only true *Religion*, they will believe without any difficulty, that the Government which would debar them of that, will make no Scruple of taking from them all they have. And becauſe none of this

this can be done with their consent, therefore necessarily an *Arbitrary Power* must be introduced to effect it, and when mens minds come to be infected with this *Jaundice*, it turns every thing into the Colour of their *Suspicion*: So that the *Prince* cannot raise any Arms for the Defence of his *Crown* against a Forrein *Power*, but presently that is only a pretence, and the real *Design* is to rule by the *Sword*; he cannot demand any supplies of *Money*, for the most pressing *Occasions* of the *Publique* Affairs, but it will be denyed, or delayed, lest it should be misemploy'd to the erecting an *Arbitrary Tyranny*; and thus whilest these Fears and Jealousies play the *Tyrants* over both, the *Prince* is run upon one of these two *Rocks*, either the necessity of Supplying and Supporting himself *Arbitrarily*, with what they would not afford him *Legally*, and which they ought to have done voluntarily; or otherways to expose himself to the Contempt of his Neighbours, and the Danger of their *Arms*, and thereby of the Ruine and Subversion of the Government; or else to the Usurpations of his own *Subjects* upon his *Crown* and *Dignity*.

THEN shall every man who is a true and a *Loyal* Friend to his *Prince*, be esteemed a *Traytor* to his *Countrey*; a wise or faithful Counsellor, and therefore in his

Princes

Princes favour, ſhall be adjudged an Enemy to the *People*, a *Conſpirator* againſt their *Priviledges* and *Religion:* And if theſe Jealouſies have gain'd a *Party* ſo numerous, as to be Confident, or if they can perſwade the *Populace* into an *Epheſian Tumult* for they know not what, then ſhall the Lives of the *Princes* ſureſt Friends be demanded as Sacrifices to Atone the *Popular* Frenzy; and their Blood muſt quench and allay this fire of *Jealouſie*. It were well if this had only been our Caſe in the *Noble Earl* of *Strafford*, and Arch-Biſhop *Lawd*, who fell the firſt Victims to this *Idol* of the Peoples fears, which for all that, grew afterwards into a *Flame* ſo raging, that whole *Rivers* of Blood, (and even of that which made the *Ax* bluſh, and will *England* for ever) were not able to extinguiſh, till it had burnt the moſt Glorious Government the *Sun* ſees in all his travels, into Rubbiſh and Aſhes.

Some ſeditious *Pamphlets* lately thrown abroad in the *World*, and diſperſed at a common Charge, would induce one to believe the *Caſe* were our own, and particularly one intitled, *An account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government*, &c. where the Writer does, as *Nazianzen* ſays, *Arm himſelf to be Eloquent againſt the Truth*; abuſing that, the better

Greg. Naz. Or. 1.

to

to abuſe others, into a belief of the moſt Notorious *Calumnies*, and *Sarcaſms* againſt the Government, the *King*, and his *Miniſters*, the *Judges*, and who not? As if all conſpiring to alter the Eſtabliſht Government, both *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical*. And is as Induſtrious as Malicious, to ſet us all into a Flame: To do this at a Seaſon when we are under the apprehenſions of a Forrein War, for the defence of our ſelves and all *Europe*, againſt the danger of a Neighbour too near not to be fear'd, and grown too great to be ſuffered, looks, and certainly is a Deſign of the greateſt Miſchief; and if the *Authors* are not Diſſenters either from the Church of *England*, or from all *Religion*, as well as from the Court of *England* and the *Intereſt* of *England*, the *World* is ſtrangely miſtaken; the *Sibboleth* which liſps ſo demurely in every *Page*, plainly ſhews that it was Penn'd by the Men of *Ephraim*, who have a deſign to Quarrel with our *Royal Jeptha* their Deliverer, by the unparallel'd *Amneſty*, from the *Ammonites* of their former Delinquencies.

THESE are the proper effects of Jealouſies, and Miſunderſtandings between a *Prince* and his *People*; the natural reſult not only of Diverſity of Government in the Church, Tollerated, but permitted even by Connivence. And what can be

the

the end of *Diſunion* between theſe two, whom God has joyned together, and no man ought to put aſunder, and who ought to live together in all the happy *Careſſes* of a Conjugal Affection; what can be expected from ſuch a *Divorce*, but a troubleſome Raign to the *Prince*, an uneaſy Life to the *People*; who muſt always be under the apprehenſions of diſmal *Revolutions* and unhappy Days; and whileſt neither of them eſteems themſelves ſecure, they both become *Miſerable*. Whereas on the contrary, Unity in the Government of the *Church*, being, as before was ſaid, *Political* as well as Religious, will remove all theſe unneceſſary Fears and Imaginary Dangers; it will beget *Love* and a mutual Confidence in each other, between a *King* and his Subjects, which is the only happineſs of the *Crown*, as well as of the *Nuptial* State: Of which one may ſay as the *Poet.*

Fœlices tèr & ampliús,
Quos irrupta tenet Copula,
Nec malis divulſa Querimonijs.

When there is no Murmuring or Complaining, but the one Obeys with *Pleaſure*, what the other Commands with *Love*, and love the one as much to be Commanded, as the other to Command. But alas!

alas! this is so far from being hoped for, so long as there is this *Disunion* in the *Political Government* of the *Church*, as it would be, if there were so in the *Political Laws* of the *State*; it being as impossible to satisfie all *Parties* with the one as with the other; and there being notwithstanding the same reason, that those who are dissatisfied, should yet yield Obedience as well to the one as to the other, since they are both of the same *Nature*, and levell'd at the same *End*.

FROM what has been said, it is evident, that a *Disunion* in the *Political Government* of the Church in the same *Nation*, Lays the perpetual Foundation of Dreadful Changes, and Revolutions in the Government of the *State*: and by sowing *Jealousies*, Fears, and Discontents in the Minds of Men, it gives continual *Opportunities* to the Ambitious, Covetous, Envious, Proud, and Discontented, to run the Nation into *Civil* Broyls, and Intestine *Quarrels*: for which reason *Solomon* gives this necessary *Caution* to all those who will be the Disciples of true *Wisdom*, *My Son, fear thou God and the King; and meddle not with those who are given to change*. Which of necessity all *Dissenters* must be, whilst they believe themselves the only *People who Worship God in Spirit and Truth*; and therefore contrary to the manifest Design of the *Gospel*,

ſpel, (were they what they pretend, or believe) indeavour their own Eſtabliſhment by force and violence, the confuſion and utter ſubverſion of the Government, which does oppoſe them, and their pernicious Practices; ſo diſhonourable to *Chriſtian Religion*, and the *Proteſtant Cauſe*; ſo deſtructive of *Peace* and *Charity*; ſo contrary to the common good of all *Society*, and the Happineſs of Mankind in General; and in particular to the ſafety and ſecurity, the Settlement and Eſtabliſhment of that *Church and Nation* of which they are Members, *and to which by the Rules of Religion they owe all Obedience.*

Chap. XI.

Nor will the Miſchief of this *Diſunion* in the *Political Government* in the *Church*, confine it ſelf at home, or be contented with making us unhappy among our ſelves, but will moſt certainly Expoſe any *Nation* to the Power and Attemps of Foreign Enemies: for *Unity* in any Government, is like the ſtate of Health in the Natural *Body*, where the *Muſcles* are firm and Robuſt, the *Nerves* ſtrong, the Ligaments compacted, the *Joynts* cloſe, the whole Strength intire and vigorous, and every *Member* obedient to the *Head*: where-

whereas on the contrary, want of *Union* renders the *Body Politique* crazy and infirm, the Head may command the Hands or the Feet, but they are out of joynt, and cannot move; or if they do, it is with ſo much *Pain* or Trouble, with ſuch a Feebleneſs and *Languor*, as is next to *Impotence* it ſelf: and when any *People* are in this Condition, they become an Eaſy *Prey*, as well as a great Temptation to any Foreign *Power*.

For firſt, This renders them contemptible to their Foreign *Enemies*; for Men always make a Judgment of the ſtrength of any *Nation* in proportion to their *Unity* among themſelves: for what does it ſignifie though a *Nation* be never ſo Rich or *Populous*, if they be not *Unanimous*? their Enemies muſt needs thus Argue with themſelves; What though this *People* abound in *Money*, and ſwarm with Inhabitants, ſo long as they are like a *Rope* of *Sand*? it is a ſign of the goodneſs of their Country, as well as the Weakneſs of the Nation: there will be the better *booty*, and the cheaper *Victory*; the *Conqueſt* will pay us well for our *Pains*, and our *Pains* cannot be great to ſubdue a *People* who are already half Conquered by their *Civil* Diſſentions; we are not to go to diſpute a bloody Conqueſt, but a certain *Victory*: Their mutual Fears have alienated the Affections

fections of the People from their Prince; and they who have been so *Prodigal* to waste all the stock of *Loyalty* which was left them as a Patrimony from their *Ancestors*, will easily be tempted to sell the Reversion of their *Allegiance* to a new Soveraign; Nor shall an *Invader* ever need to fear a Party, who for ready Money in hand, and large Promises of future Payments and Gratifications in whatever they demand (which he may Pay he knows as he pleases) will not either actually joyn with him, or however retard all the *Counsels* and necessary Preparations which shall be made against him, for the defence of the *Publique*. Nor will they be wanting by fair *Pretences*, or by the *Golden Key* (where that is permitted to be used) to open themselves a way into the Counsels of their *Prince*, places of Trust and Importance; thereby to betray him, and gratifie his *Enemies*, by opening them a *Passage* into his Dominions, and an easy Dore of *Conquest*.

And therefore Secondly, When by Reason of danger from abroad, there is the greatest necessity of *Unity* at home; when they should be mustering Men for the Common Defence of the *Publique*, they will be most busy in Mustering up whole *Armies* of Complaints, Grievances, and Faults in the Government: when they should

ſhould be raiſing Money to defend the *Crown* and *Government*; in order to the Common *Safety*, they will be raiſing Fears, Jealouſies, and Diſturbances in the Minds of his Subjects, to diſtract and divide them: then will they be moſt buſie at the *Mint* to coyn falſe Reports and counterfeit *Rumors*, ſtrange Diſcoveries and Conſpiracies againſt the Peoples Liberties, and *Religion*: and animate all theſe *Diſorders*, by telling the Credulous, that now is the Time, or never, in the neceſſity of *Publique* Affairs, to advance their Private *Intereſt*. For ſhould the *Prince* return Victorious over his Foreign *Enemies*, and ſettle an honourable *Peace* abroad, he would be in a Condition to turn his *Arms* againſt them, and indeavour to ſecure and ſettle his *Peace* at home; and ſhould they loſe this Opportunity of his Neceſſity, poſſibly they may never meet with the like again. And ſhould the *Prince* fail of Succeſs in the Defence of his *Crown* and *Country*, which they will take all the Care they can that he ſhall, the aſſiſtance they have given his *Enemies* (though by no other way but ſecret Correſpondencies, and clogging the wheels of *Affairs*, to make them move heavily, and by conſequence unſucceſsfully,) will intitle them to the Favour of the *Victor*, if it prove an intire *Conqueſt*; or however if it comes to a diſhonourable

Peace, to his *Protection*. For he must be *Master* of very little *Policy*, who will not indeavour to support and incourage a *Party* in the Dominions of his *Enemies*, who shall be able upon all Occasions to do him such considerable *Services*.

But Thirdly, This *Disunion* of any *Nation* among themselves, does not only render them Lame and Impotent at home, but Ruines their *Hopes* of *Confederations* for their Assistance and Security abroad. For the *Leagues* and Amities of Foreign *Princes* and *States* have always their Foundation laid in their own Interest and Advantage; and who will enter into *Leagues Offensive* and *Defensive* for their Common Security, with a People who by reason of their Intestine Divisions, are in a condition to need Assistance from others, but not afford their *Allies* any considerable help in their Necessity? His late Majesty was a dreadful Example of this *Truth*; for did not all *Europe* stand gazing at our *Flame*, without ever so much as offering their *Mediation* to Extinguish it? which of all his *Confederates* or *Allies* came in to his relief? did they not permit his *Crown* to be taken off his *Head*, and his *Head* from his *Body*, without any concern? although it was the Common Case of all *Crowned Heads*, and a President which their *Posterity* may have cause to repent that ever it was permitted;

mitted; but ſhall never able to raſe out of the *Records* of Time. And though this was a private and Inteſtine *Quarrel*, and therefore not eſteemed the concern of our *Allies*, yet does it manifeſtly prove, that ſince all *Alliances* are managed by *Intereſt*, if they come to believe, that to aſſiſt us againſt a Forrein *Power*, be as little their Advantage, they will be as ſlow and backward to do it then: And there is nothing can more forceably perſwade them into ſuch a *Belief*, than by our own *Diſunion* and Diviſion, to put our ſelves out of a Capacity of being ſerviceable to their *Intereſt*, by the ability of mutual help and *Aſſiſtance* in their time of Need.

So that it muſt be pure Compaſſion for their own *Affairs*, and to keep the *Ballance* from inclining too much to one ſide, that muſt be the *Motive* to incourage them to lend us their hand; and ſince that cannot be expected till they ſee us ready to *Sink*, let any perſon *Judg* into what a Miſerable Condition we muſt be reduced, before we receive that Help, or they come in to our *Aid*. Whereas, when any *Nation* is powerful, by being *Unanimous*, their *Friends* and *Allies* will upon the firſt Summons, be ready to aſſiſt them, not only for their own *Intereſt*, and becauſe they expect the like Kindneſs, upon the like *Occaſions*; but becauſe they will be

unwilling and afraid to diſoblige a *Power*, which but by withdrawing it ſelf from them, may expoſe them to Dangers and *Hazards:* Or reſenting it as an *Injury* and Affront, may at one time or another remember it with thoughts of *Revenge.*

So that there is nothing can be more apparent than that *Diſunion* in any *Nation*, weakens its Force and ſtrength at Home and Abroad, and expoſes it to the Danger of Foreign *Enemies*, whileſt it gives them all the Invitations and Aſſiſtances they can deſire, to accompliſh their *Conqueſt* and its *Ruine.*

But beſides all this, there is ſomething more in this *Diſunion* in point of *Church* Government in our *Nation*, which is particularly dangerous to the preſent Government: And that is, that it Naturally inclines all the ſeveral *Parties* to *Antimonarchical* Principles, and to entertain kind thoughts of *Polyarchy* in the State, as well as *Anarchy* in the Church; and of all others, to *Democracy* rather than *Optimacy.* For where the Government is Elective and Mutable, every ſeveral Party will endeavour to make ſuch an *Intereſt* in all ſuch *Elections*, as to have a conſiderable number of the Governours, to be of their *Perſwaſion:* By which *Method* they entertain a conſtant *Hope* that they ſhall be able, not only to continue that *Liberty* to their *Way*

Way, but alſo to increaſe and Augment it. Nor is it poſſible by any Arguments to perſwade them that *Monarchy* is the beſt Form of Government; and which is ſtrange, the former experience of the *Tyranny* of the late *Common-Wealth*, which was Eſtabliſhed upon the *Ruines* of our *Peace* and *Proſperity*, the toſſings, and Tumblings, the Uncertainties and Rollings of that raging Sea of *Confuſion*, is not convincing, but that they will Embarque themſelves in it upon the ſame Deſign, although they know it is a *Red-Sea* of Blood, and leads us all to a *Deſolate Wilderneſs*. How contrary and repugnant this Government is to the Fundamental and Eſtabliſhed Laws of theſe *Nations*, I need not tell: But what muſt they be, who pretend for Religion to overthrow all the Foundations of the Earth, and put them out of Courſe, unleſs *God* hold up the *Pillars* of it, as hitherto he has done in deſpight of the raging of the *People*. However, it afords us a clear diſcovery of the Tempers of thoſe men who keep up theſe *Principles* of *Diſunion*, which have ſuch a deſperate influence upon the *Civil* Affairs, and endeavour to Ruine the *State* by ſetting up Religion; and whoſe reſtleſs and unwearied Induſtry leaves no ſtone unmoved; Nay, who will move Heaven and Earth, to accompliſh their Deſign.

This has been observed to be the *Genius* of Dissenters in former Times, and it is to be feared the Humor has not left them. *For they are like the troubled Sea which cannot rest, but is continually casting up mire and dirt*; Foaming, and Raging, and Raving like that unstable and unruly *Element*, to enlarge its floating and turbulent *Empire*, by incroaching upon the *Terra Firma*, the Peaceable Earth; and one may but too truly add the Words of the Prophet, *There is no Peace saith my God to the Wicked. For their Throat is an open Sepulchre, with their Tongues they use Deceipt, the Poyson of Asps is under their Lips. Their mouth is full of Bitterness, their feet are swift to shed Blood. Destruction and Misery are in their ways: And the way of Peace have they not known.* For their Practices declare it publiquely, what ever they pretend either of Innocence or Sanctity, *That there is no fear of God before their eyes.*

Esay 57.20,21.

Rom. 3.13,14, 15,16,17,18.

There being no Differences, as before was observed, which do so absolutely Alienate the minds of Men, as those about *Religion*, as they are most irreconcilable, therefore they are most dangerous; not only to the Essence of *Religion*, but to the *Civil* affairs of *State*; for if we be divided, and distracted, what matters it how or by what *Means*? The effects of these

theſe Diſſentions will have the ſame influence upon the Publique Affairs, whether they come from *Religion* or Ambition. Either will ruine us, but the former more certainly and with greater *Artifice*; Becauſe more inſinuating and plauſible in outward appearance. For men who have any ſenſe of *Religion*, cannot but look upon it as the great concern of their *Lives*, and the care of their *Poſterity*, to whom they deſire to tranſmit it as well as their Eſtates: And though it is in *Charity* to be hoped, that many Diſſenters are not aware of this dangerous *Rock* which lies under Water, and that they have no ſuch *Ill* deſigns, yet they cannot be ignorant from former *Expetence*, that there may be ſuch among them now as have been formerly; and that *Popular* and Ambitious Spirits have made uſe of their *Zeal* and *Credulity*, to abuſe them and the whole *Nation* into Miſery and *Slavery*, under the pretence of *Liberty*: And that ſuch Men will never want either Shelter or opportunity under thoſe pretences of *Religion*, to embroyl us among our ſelves, or betray us to a Forrein *Power*, ſo long as this *Diſunion* continues, and theſe Differences are incouraged, maintained, and daily propagated among us.

THIS is a ſeaſon when theſe things would be ſeriouſly Conſidered by all *Diſ-*

senters; and if it shall appear a real Truth, that this *Industry*, instead of promoting true *Religion*, must promote our *Ruine*, they ought voluntarily to Unite and return to the Obedience of the *King* and *Church*: For otherways their *Actions* will confess what their *Tongues* deny, and that this *Reformation* is in Reality the *Subversion* of the Government which they intend.

FOR what is it possible to believe or think of such Persons, as with treacherous *Joab*, call us Brethren, enquire of our Health, and with the right hand salute, that with the left they may stab us (as he did the incautelous *Amasa*) with our own Sword under the fifth Rib. Can they be esteemed Friends to their Countrey, or the Protestant *Religion*, who through their Dissentions discredit the one, and disable the other from defending it? is this the way to secure us from *Arbitrary* Government, to make the Princes Government perpetually unsafe and uneasy, and almost impracticable without it; by forcing him, for the guard of the *Sceptre*, to wear a *Sword*; and then exclaim against him for doing that which they have necessitated him to do, or to leave his *Crown* and *Life*, and that of his Loyal Subjects, to the mercy of the Sword of *Rebellion*? Can it be probable that this should be an Expedient to preserve us from the *Roman Religion*,

2 *Sam.* 20. 29.

Religion, to furniſh them with Arguments againſt us; that we deny the *Catholique* Faith in the Communion of Saints; and to give them this advantage againſt us, to ſay, and truly, that we have neither *Unity* nor *Charity*? Or can any man in his Wits believe, that the beſt way to Eſtabliſh *Peace* among our ſelves, is to maintain perpetual *Principles* of Quarrels and *Contentions*? Or that we are like to defend our ſelves from powerful *Enemies* abroad, (Enemies by a Hereditary *Animoſity*, and Enemies upon the account of *Religion*) by worrying one another at Home? No, no, as ſoon ſhall the *Plague* become an *Amulet* to preſerve us from *Contagion*; as ſoon ſhall Impotent men be cured by cutting their *Nerves* in pieces; as ſoon ſhall men ſee clearly by putting out their *Eyes*; and all that ever can be imagined, that is not only improbable but utterly impoſſible, come to paſs, as that this or any other *Nation* ſhould be happy without *Unity*, not only in point of the *Civil*, but *Eccleſiaſtical* Government; or that Mens minds ſhould be eaſy whileſt the Spring of Jealouſies is kept open among us, and the fountain of *Charity* is ſtopt up; or that we ſhould be ſafe from Forrein *Enemies*, when no man can tell who is his *Friend* at Home.

Nor in ſhort, can it be hoped that *Truth*

Truth and *Peace* ſhould flouriſh in our Days, when *Private Opinion* ſhall be preferred before the *Catholique Faith*, and the practice of the *Church* in all *Ages*; when *Eternal Wranglings about Words, and Queſtions, whereof cometh Envy, Strife, Railings, and Evil Surmiſings*, ſhall be the great Accompliſhment of *Chriſtian Religion*; and ſhall baniſh all Love and *Charity* from the minds and lives of Men. What can be the end of theſe *Miſchiefs*? So long as Obſtinacy in our private Judgments, ſhall be accounted a more Eſſential part of *Religion*, than Obedience to Lawful *Authority*; but what the *Apoſtle* long ſince, by way of *Caution*, predicted to the Church of the *Galatians*, *Brethren ye have been called unto Liberty, only abuſe not your Liberty for an occaſion to the Fleſh; but by Love, ſerve one another; for all the Law is fulfilled in one Word, even in this, Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf: But if they bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not conſumed one of another.* Which fearful *Prophecy*, ſo truly verified and fulfilled upon that and the reſt of the *Aſian* Churches, God of his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy avert from us, by beſtowing upon us this *Unity of the Spirit, which is the Bond of Peace*; and which is certainly the true Spirit of *Chriſtian Religion*, and the only way to obtain

1 *Tim.*6.4.

*Gal.*5.13,14, 15.

that

that peace of God which passeth all Understanding, which will fill the Soul with peace of *Conscience* here, the World with happiness, and all those who follow it, with *Eternal* Joy, unspeakable, and full of Glory in *Heaven*.

Chap. XII.

Thus far I have indeavoured to follow Truth, by manifesting that *Unity* in *Faith*, and *Unity* in Government in a *National Church*, are absolutely necessary, both to the salvation of Mens Souls, and to the Happiness, *Peace*, and Security of any People in their *Politique* Capacities.

As there can be nothing in the *World* more desirable, so there is nothing that all good Men ought more sincerely to indeavour to promote. *Blessed are the Peacemakers*, says the *Eternal Prince of Peace*, *for they shall be called the Children of God*; who is the *God* of Peace, and the Author of the *Gospel* of Peace. Let us therefore, in Order to it, in the next place see what Expedients have been propounded to restore this *Peace* to this *Church*, and *Nation*.

It has been already manifested, that *Unity* in point of Faith, is the Bond of the *Catholique*

tholique Union among all distinct *Churches* which are Members of the Catholique or Universal *Church*; but this *Faith must Work by Love*, It has been also shewn, that though this *Unity* of Faith which works so by Love, as that though distinct *Nations* and Churches disagree about *Ceremonies* and Circumstances of *Religion*, yet they may all agree in the substance of *Faith*, yet that it is impossible, this should be in the same *Nation*; and that therefore *Uniformity* of Government in the *Church* is absolutely necessary to maintain *Charity* and *Unity*. And though this might be sufficient to shew the Unreasonableness of *Tolleration* of different Forms of Divine Worship under the same *Magistrate*; yet since there is such a *Cry* among all Dissenters, both *Papists* and others for *Tolleration*, and *Liberty of Conscience*, as an Expedient both *Politique*, *Religious*, and Necessary, let me be permitted freely to speak my impartial sense concerning it.

Gal. 5. 6.

THOUGH all Parties whose private *Opinion* makes them Dissent from the Establisht Government both in *Church* and *State*, must of necessity be desirous of a *Tolleration*; yet I find the *Papists* and the *Presbyterians* are they who appear most solicitous for it: and yet of all others they seem least to deserve it. For no man ought

ought in reaſon to demand that for himſelf, which he would not think it lawful to grant to any other if in his *Circumſtances:* Now Experience has given us Demonſtration of the violent Tempers of both theſe; and there is not a Poſſibility of doubting, but if either the *Papiſt* or *Presbyter* were in Power, they would not allow any *Tolleration*, or *Indulgence* to other *Diſſenters*; but the o ne would Eſtabliſh the *Scepter* of the *Pope*, and the other of *Chriſt* (as they call their New Government) with the moſt unlimited Soveraignty, both over the Faith and Actions of *All*; *Princes* as well as *Peaſants:* and ſince they would compel all *People* by the utmoſt Severities and *Rigours* of *Penal Laws* to Carry the Yoak which they would Impoſe upon them, what reaſon can they have to Expect for themſelves what they would deny all others? for their *Practice* has made it evident to the loweſt Underſtanding, that they who have ſo little *Charity* for their Brethren in the Common Chriſtianity, as to damn them without remedy to the bottomleſs *Abyſs* of *Hell*, for diſſenting from them in any one point which they have decreed to be *De Fide*, will look upon it as an Effect of *Compaſſion* rather than *Cruelty*, to convert them, and ſave their Souls, though with the loſs of their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates: or if that

that cannot be effected, to *confound* them, to *Extirpate* and destroy them, lest they should lead others by their Doctrines or Example to *Damnation.*

WHEREAS in truth and reality nothing but *Blasphemy*, *Atheism*, and such *Immoralities* as are destructive of Humane *Society*, render men obnoxious to *Temporal* Punishments: Infidelity, or not believing aright, being *Crimes* or Defects rather of the Understanding, fall no further under humane Cognizance, or *Penal Laws*, than by their Consequences and Effects they may, or do prejudice those *Laws* and the Common End of *Society*: and therefore they are reserved for the Punishment of a future *state*; and the *Church* can proceed no further, than to Exclude them from her *Communion*, but not out of the Possession of their *Lives*, or *Estates*, which *God Almighty*, as the Common Father of *Mankind*, thinks fit to permit them to Enjoy, making his *Sun* to shine upon the Just and Unjust with an equal influence and benignity.

The Advocate of Conscience, Liberty, &c.

BUT since a *Papist* has undertaken the Common Cause of all Dissenters, and it may be has said as much for them as the subject will bear, and more in behalf of his own *Party* than any other *Dissenters* can pretend to for themselves, *Papists* having the specious *plea* of Prescription, as the

the *Religion* of our *Anceſtors*, the ancient Form of Government in the *Church*, and the *Ancient* Faith, had they permitted it to continue ſo Intire and Undefiled, unmixed with their *Apochrypha*, and *Traditions*; I will indeavour to anſwer what is moſt material in his Diſcourſe, in order to diſcovering the Weakneſs of his *Plea*, not concerning my ſelf with the ſincerity of his *Intention*, which though appearing for all, is only Deſigned for the benefit of his own *Party*.

In the firſt place therefore I deſire that Notice may be taken, how he ſtates the *Queſtion* in the *Proœmium* of his *Book*. *Note* (ſaith he) *by* Perſecution, Impoſition, and Reſtraint, *we only mean, the ſtrict requiring to believe this to be true, and that to be falſe*, &c. *and upon refuſal to Swear, or Conform, to incur the Penalties Enacted in ſuch Caſes; but by theſe Terms we do not mean any Coercive Let or Hindrance into publique Meetings. By Liberty of Conſcience, we underſtand only a meer Liberty of Mind in believing or disbelieving this or that Doctrine, ſo far as may refer only to religious matters in a private way of Worſhip, which are not deſtructive to the Nature and Grounds of Chriſtian Faith, nor tending to matters of an External Judicature, in abetting any Contrivances, or diſturbance to common Peace or Civility.*

As

As to the First of these, I would gladly be shewn when or where the Government did ever in this sense persecute in any thing which is purely the subject of *Faith*, without relating to Practice, or the Consequences of such *Faith?* or where any person for refusing to Believe, or Swear, or Conform to any thing which did not influence the *Civil* Affairs of *State*, was ever punished? was ever any man fined, imprisoned, or banished, because he would not swear to believe any Theological Point, as of Free Will, Merit of Works, &c. which had no relation to Political Affairs? there cannot be one Precedent found in all the Records of all our Courts of Judicature, though we can shew many out of that *Legend*, as he calls Bishop *Fox*'s *Martyrology*, who were put to death without any other Crime than that they did not believe the *Theological* Point of *Transubstantiation*; and when nothing else would do, then the killing *Question*, *What say you to the Sacrament of the Altar?* was sure to turn them over to the *Secular Power* for Hereticks, and it was not long before the Writ *de Hereticis Comburendis* brought them to their Funeral *Pile*. But if any thing which men pretend to be matter of *Faith*, be found by Experience dangerous to *Society*, destructive of the Fundamentals of our Government, may not we Lawfully indeavour

vour to oblige those who own that Faith, to give security that they do not believe it so, as to be prejudicial to the Government? such are the Doctrines of the Popes Supremacy and Power not only to *Excommunicate*, but to Depose *Princes*, and dispose of their Crowns: that *Equivocation* even upon a solemn *Oath* is lawful; a *Position* that Ruines all *Religion*, and *Fidelity*, and the very Reputation of Humane *Nature*. And yet a *Treatise* I have seen written to this Purpose, in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and approved by *Blackwell* the *Archpriest*, in these words; *Tractatus iste valdé doctus, & veré pius & Catholicus est*, &c. *Certissimé SS Scripturarum, Patrum, Doctorum, Scholasticorum, Canonistarum, & optimarum Rationum presidijs, plenissimé firmat æquitatem æquivocationis. Ideoque dignissimus est qui Typis propagatur, ad consolationem afflictorum Catholicorum, & omnium piorum Instructionem.* *This Treatise*, saith he, *is very Learned, and truly Pious, and Catholique. Certainly therein the Equity of Equivocation is fully proved by the strongest Reasons out of Scriptures, Fathers, Doctors, Schoolmen, and Canonists, and therefore is most Worthy to be Printed for the Comfort of afflicted Catholiques, and the Instruction of all good People.* Must now the indeavouring to suppress the Authors of such *Doctrine*, be

Perſecution for *Conſcience* ſake? have theſe *Opinions* no Influence upon Humane *Society?*

As to the Second Note, a *Liberty* of believing or disbelieving this or that *Doctrine*, only in order to a private way of *Worſhip*, &c. Who ever denyed this *Liberty?* Is there any *Judg* of thoughts of the heart beſides *God?* Is any man denyed to enjoy his private *Opinion*, or can he be, ſo long as it continues ſo? But if *People* will Tranſgreſs theſe Limits, and impoſe matters of private *Opinion* as matters of *Faith*, in order to practice, and ſuch *Opinions* as ruine *Charity*, diſturb *Peace*, unſettle Government; muſt theſe too be Tollerated? And ſuch are the Opinions of *Rome* and *Geneva*. And it is not a *private*, but a publique *Liberty* which is denyed them; a Liberty to *Poyſon* Mens *Loyalty*, and firſt Murder their *Allegiance*, that they may with more eaſe Murder the Government. A Liberty to baniſh *Charity*, *Peace*, and *Unity*, out of the *Church*, to Eſtabliſh true *Religion* without them. So that if he would ſtick to his Demands, he could no ſooner ask than have ſuch a *Tolleration* as is not in the Power of any Mortal *Authority* to abridge any man of; and it is impoſſible for any perſon to ſuffer Perſecution for his private *Opinion*; for no man can be puniſhed but for what is known to be

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But to trace him, he tells us p. 1. *That no man has power over Conſcience; therefore Impoſition and Violence* are unlawful; A very Logical Conſequence; No *Prince* has power to Puniſh, therefore not to Tollerate neither; *God hath Exempted the Soul out of his Commiſſion*, but not the Body: Why does he then demand that which is not in their Power to Grant? As for his *Examples* which he gives for *Tolleration*, from *Turks* and *Pagans*, they are but ill Preſidents for *Chriſtians*. And for the Inſtance of *Theodoſius* and *Gratian*, if *Socrates* be to be credited, it is a great Slander upon thoſe two good *Emperors*: *Gratian* indeed, at his firſt coming to the Crown, gave *Liberty*, that every *Sect* and *Opinion* ſhould freely, without Moleſtation, frequent their wonted *Aſſemblies*, except the *Eunomians*, *Photinians*, and *Socr. Eccl. Hiſt. li. 5. c. 2. & 10.*

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be his *Opinion* by his own *Confeſſion*; and when it comes to be ſo, either by his words or *Actions*, it ceaſes to be *Private*: For ſuppoſe a man were a *Mahometan*, but no perſon knew it beſides himſelf, who could tax him with it, or puniſh him for it? but if he will make his houſe a *Moſque*, and endeavour to Convert others to the *Alchoran*, to make a *Party*, and to Erect the *Creſcents* to pull down the *Croſs* and the Crown, would that be *private*, or deſerve *Tolleration*?

But to trace him, he tells us p. 1. *That no man has power over Conſcience; therefore Impoſition and Violence* are unlawful; A very Logical Conſequence; No *Prince* has power to Puniſh, therefore not to Tollerate neither; *God hath Exempted the Soul out of his Commiſſion*, but not the Body: Why does he then demand that which is not in their Power to Grant? As for his *Examples* which he gives for *Tolleration*, from *Turks* and *Pagans*, they are but ill Preſidents for *Chriſtians*. And for the Inſtance of *Theodoſius* and *Gratian*, if *Socrates* be to be credited, it is a great Slander upon thoſe two good *Emperors*: *Gratian* indeed, at his firſt coming to the Crown, gave *Liberty*, that every *Sect* and *Opinion* ſhould freely, without Moleſtation, frequent their wonted *Aſſemblies*, except the *Eunomians*, *Photinians*, and *Socr. Eccl. Hiſt. li. 5. c. 2. & 10.*

Manichees: But no ſooner was he ſetled in the *Empire*, and had joyned *Theodoſius* to him, but they command *that all Hereſies ſhould for ever keep Silence.* The ſame Prohibition *Arcadus* and *Honorius*, continue and Augment; *Let all Hereticks* (ſay they) *underſtand, that all places muſt be taken from them, as well Churches, as other places of Meeting*, as private Houſes, *in which let them be debar'd from Service, both by Night and by Day*, and the Lord *Deputy* of the *Province*, was to look to the Execution of this Law, and if he permitted their Meetings either openly or ſecretly, he was to fine for it 100 *l. Theodoſius* the Younger, whom *Socrates* compares to *Moſes* for his Meekneſs and Excellent *Nature*, yet with *Valentinian* his Couſin, ſumming up in a *Catalogue* the *Hereticks* of that Time; Commands that no where within the *Roman Empire*, their *Aſſemblies* or *Prayers* ſhould be permitted, but that all Laws made to Prohibit their Meetings, ſhould be revived, and made perpetual. And this they did, becauſe they thought the *Civil* Power was obliged to Protect the *Eccleſiaſtical*, and to maintain *Peace* in the *Church* of *God*, and, as our *Advocate* quotes the Wiſe Sir *Francis Bacon* for another purpoſe, *pag.*7. *Becauſe the Sword of Diſſention ought not be put into the Peoples hands, to nouriſh Seditions, Treaſons, Conſpiracies*

Cod 1. *Tit.* 5. *lege, Omnes.*

Ibid. lege Cunctí.

Ibid. leg. Ariani.

ſpiracies, &c. which were to daſh the firſt Table againſt the ſecond, and to conſider Men as Chriſtians, ſo as to forget they are Men; which with the *Gentlemans* favour, is not much to his advantage, ſince theſe are all the Effects, and neceſſary Conſequences of *Tolleration*.

It was the great Misfortune of the Poet *Claudian*, that his Excellent Wit fell upon dry and barren Subjects; the ſame ill Luck has this Writer, in falling upon this Subject of *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, ſo contrary to his own, and the *Judgment* of his *Church*; that I ſhall uſe no other Arguments than his own Words, and by turning his own *Cannon* upon his *Caſtle* in the *Air*, I do not *Queſtion*, but to make him quit his Fortifications: The Truth is, I like his Title of *Advocate*, for he proves himſelf one, and acts the *Advocate* exactly, making the beſt he can of a bad Cauſe; but ſo great is *Truth*, that it needs no other *Advocate*, nor any better *Arguments*, than even in ſpeaking againſt her, he is compelled to uſe for her. Pag. 41. *The ancient Original Fundamental Laws*, ſays he (*by which other Laws of Leſs Extent are to be regulated*,) were *intended as a defence, and Protection to all; providing one injure not another, and that Common Peace and Safety be ſecured; No other Subſequent inferiour Law can therefore debar any peaceable*

Christian (*that answers the Necessities of Church and State, Civil, Spiritual, and Political*) *in equal Justice, and in* Foro Conscientiæ, *from this Priviledge Originally due to all.* And this he fortifies with the Confession of a *Presbyterian Divine*, without a Name, *who never saw any Argument yet, that could clearly Evince, why any sort of Men who would profess a peaceable subjection unto the Civil Government, might not in all their Civil Rights be protected by it.* Does not this oblige every Government to an easie *Credulity*, to its own Ruine? For the greatest of its Enemies will profess this Subjection, till they have power to effect their Ends; and by this *Rule* there is no care to be taken of Mens Principles or Practices, if they can but speak Fair, and *profess* they mean no hurt to the Government; no matter for what may happen afterward; the *Governours* may sleep securely, till their throats are cut by these harmless *Professors*.

But taking this for a *Maxim* granted, I proceed upon his own Words; That no *Tolleration* of different *Religion* is to be permitted, and that first from the *Apostle* St. *Pauls* Rule (pag. 49.) *Hast thou Faith, have it to thy self*; And *seeing that Universal Unity among Christians is not to be attained, such a Tolleration of things tollerable, is not only Lawful, but necessary,*

where

where a Latitude or Liberty is left in such things as are not clearly, and positively laid down in Scripture, in things of private Practice. Which is just giving that Liberty which no man can take away, every man being at liberty to believe and do so, so long as he keeps it to himself, and that it is Tollerable Faith by being to himself, and his practice is truly private. But why then does the Church of *Rome* Command us to believe *Supremacy*, *Purgatory*, *Transubstantiation*, &c. which are not clearly, nor positively laid down in Scripture; is this Good, Just, and Equal dealing with us?

But Secondly, I Argue from his own Reason, because nothing is more clear than that this Tolleration must of necessity destroy that Original Fundamental Law of Protection, due to all from the Government; which will not be able to Protect it self, since it must Embroyl the Government, and indanger its Ruine, that being the very thing for which Tolleration is so earnestly desired. *For a Wise Government* (pag. 50, 51.) *may tollerate* (at least in a private way) with the Old bounty of giving what they cannot help, *different Opinions, when otherwise the Publique may be intangled, or indangered, or rather because the Conscience cannot be compelled, or Faith forced; and more especially if they be such Religions, as do not over-*

throw the Foundations of Truth, nor such as disturb or impugn the Government Established; or if the Professors thereof be such as are not Factious, or pertinacious, but Honest, Simple, Tractable, Obedient to Superiors, having no other End in holding their Opinions in Religion, than Gods Glory, or satisfaction of their own Conscience; and withall are willing to submit to better Judgments, when they are convinced to be Erroneous: (Pag. 52.) *For we ought to have a Latitude of Charity for those who Dissent, if they be not Impostors, or turbulent Incendiaries.* And who are there that will own themselves to be such? It looks like *Oliver* Remonstrating; or a *Declaration* of 41. and by this *Rule*, all *Sects*, *Heresies*, and Rebels, if they may be their own *Compurgators*, must be Tollerated too, since they will Profess all that is here desired for *Tolleration*; but by clear *Consequence*, if notwithstanding these Professions, they do intangle and indanger the Government, then they are not be *Tollerated*; but the *Tolleration* of all *Sects*, though Charitably supposing them not *Hereticks*, does not only destroy some one Fundamental of Religion, but *Religion* in the Main; by making it Morally impossible for any Man to know where he shall find a true *Religion*, and plainly introduces *Mahometanism*, that a Man may be saved in any; and will confirm

firm the *Atheist* and *Libertine* in their *Opinions*, that there is no such thing, more than in Mens melancholy *Humors*. And it is impossible but the Professors of different Religions will be Factious, and Disobedient to Superiors, as daily Experience assures us; and to Tollerate them, is to give them leave to be so, and to hold their *Opinions* for the subversion of Government, and not satisfaction of *Conscience*; as some who called themselvs *Papists* as well as other Dissenters have done in former times, and, for ought we know, Design the same again; and therefore I conclude with the *Advocate* (p. 55.) *That where every one has Liberty to hold what he pleases*; which by this profession cannot be denied him; so soon as he believes his Party strong enough to grapple with *Authority*, *he will Publish and Preach what he holds, confined to no Rule or Order, but contemning Law, will Rule as a Transcendent*, and as he quotes the most incomparable *Hooker*, (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 107.) *Let them tell us of Obeying the Laws of God as long as they please, we dare not believe them who break the Laws of those appointed by God to Rule over them. For it is a Distinction without a Difference, to seperate and divide the Laws of God from the Laws of Men; and unless we observe both, we Obey neither.* (pag. 56.) *In these Cases*, says our *Advocate*, *Christian Gover-*

Governors are not to regard such Pleas for private Liberty, as overthrow Publique Order and Peace. Nor to regard those Clamours against them and the Laws, as Persecuting, when they do but oppose and restrain such perillous Exorbitancies as strike at the Foundation of Christianity, and open a gap to Atheism, Profaneness, and Blasphemy; here the Magistrate must interpose his Coercive Power for remedy: Nor are they in this infringers of the Peoples Liberty, but preservers of freedom; not Oppressors of others Consciences, but dischargers of their own, by prohibiting men to vent their raw undigested Fancies to others; to start Principles distructive to Government, subverting Order, violating Laws, breaking Oaths, and contemning Authority; publiquely acting according to private Perswasion; not regarding common Order, or publique Peace, but by a Seditious and Factious Liberty, broaching their Opinions to others. And there is a great deal of Reason why the Magistrate should use this Power to crush the *Cockatrice* in the *Egg: For* (pag. 58.) *if the publique Power shall suffer arrogant Ignorance, excess of Passion, perverseness of Will, to come to its full Rudeness and Extent:* (which it can do no way so readily as by Tolleration.) *Tumultuary Numbers and Brutish Power will soon make good private Presumptions; and cover the most Im-*

Impudent Lusts, Passions, and Ambitions of Men, with the Pleas and Outcrys of Christian Liberty. And those who hold forth Notions and Conceptions of Reformation, or wholly changing Religion and Goverment, and in order to that, to shake even the frame of the Civil Government, to which they think themselves no longer bound in subjection, than they want a Party strong for Opposition, will not easily be perswaded that it is the Sin of Rebellion which carries the face of Reformation, easily dispensing with Obedience to Men, where they pretend amendment before God. (pag. 59.)

WHAT can be said more, or more sharply against *Tolleration* than our *Advocate* here pleads; and to joyn Issue with him upon this Plea, if we can prove that these must be the Effects of Tolleration, then to use his own words, (pag. 62.) *True Christian Tolleration, not extending to matters of an Extern Nature, Magistrates may use a Coercive hindrance from Publique Meetings, without impeaching of it.* (And, by his Favour, from private too, such as he calls private; that is, in private houses, which are as Capacious and Publique as some Churches.) *For* (adds he) *Seditious Spirits, Cholerique Constitutions, and Feavourish Complexions, who love to be moving in the troubled Waters of Secular Affairs, whose Heads are prone to move their Hearts*

Hearts with ſpecious Novelties, quick Excitations, and zealous Reſolutions, which ſoon after, like Salt ſtreams, deſcend and fall upon the Lungs, provoking them violently to ſpread their Opinions to others, theſe moſt truly forfeit their Chriſtian private Liberty to the Publique Diſcretion, and Power, who will not or cannot uſe it but to the publique Detriment. (pag. 60. 61.)

But that ſuch have been the Effects of Difference of *Opinions* among us, is but too viſible; and if they grew in deſpight of all the *Authority* of the Magiſtrate, to that prodigious height, as in the times of the late *Rebellion*, to overthrow the whole frame of Government, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical: and if the *Principles* and Poſitions, as well as Practices, of the ſame perſons, or their Succeſſors, are ſtill the ſame, derived from *Calvin*, *Knox*, *Buchanan*, &c. then are they by no means to be tollerated in a *Chriſtian* Common-wealth: But what if yet they had never been Criminal, yet if their *Principles* lead to thoſe Ends, muſt they be therefore tollerated, that thereby they may the ſooner, and without oppoſition, come to thoſe Tragical *Concluſions*? will not the Government be *Felo de ſe*, and not only ſo, but betray thoſe under its Charge to ruine; according to the *Maxim*, *Qui non prohibet, Jubet*? and muſt the Magiſtrate lay out all his Care to oblige his *Enemies*,

Enemies, those who hate both him and his Government? must he put the Sword of *Tolleration* into the hands of Division, to destroy his Friends, the Loyal and Obedient, who best (if not only) deserve his *Protection*, and ought to be his chiefest Care?

DIFFERENT *Opinions* in the Church have always been the occasion of Quarrels, and have always ended in *Blood*. Witness the Report of *Socrates*, of the skirmishes between the *Arrians* and the *Orthodox* at *Constantinople*; witness the Outrages of the *Donatists* in *Affrica*. And so it will be when any Party grows strong and numerous (and Tolleration is the best way to make them so, and for that End they desire it) then the Beast which looks like a *Lamb*, will speak like a *Dragon*. I know *Rev.* 13. 11. our *Advocate* loves the *English* Separatists so well and tenderly, by his pleading for them, that he will easily believe all this of them; I could heartily wish they had not given occasion for the whole world to believe their *Doctrines* guilty of those barbarous *Inhumanities*, and Unchristian *Practices*; which have given a deeper Wound to the Reputation of the *Reformed Religion*, than to their Native *Country*; the Scar of which will be a perpetual *Infamy* to all *Posterity*. I wish they could vindicate their *Principles* from the just Reproaches of their former

Practices,

Practices, and from a Jealouſie that they may occaſion us the ſame Miſeries and Miſchiefs; but alas! it is impoſſible; all the pains they can take will but be *Æthiopem lateremvé lavare*. A hope to make a *Negro* fair. Which all the ſalt Water in the *Ocean* will never be able to Effect; and indeed nothing can cleanſe them from, but the ſalt ſtreams of Repentance from their own *Eyes*, and the blood of the *Lamb* of *God*, which taketh away the *Sins* of the *World*, joyned to Reſolutions of future Reformation and Amendment.

But let not our *Advocate* think that by ſhewing the Guilt of thoſe who call themſelves *Proteſtants*, as he does (pag. 125.) where he tells us, *More Princes have been Depoſed by Sectaries in 60 years, than by Papiſts in 600, and that Hiſtory and Experience teſtifies, that the reſpective Sects have been moſt guilty of all kind of diſobedience, both at home and abroad.* Let him not think that hereby he has vindicated his own Innocence, or not forfeited that Right to *Tolleration* upon his own Grounds, which, though he pretend to plead for all, he intends only for his own *Party*, as the only *Meek* and *Peaceable People* of the Earth. I will Judge as charitably of *Catholiques* (as they love to call themſelves) as they can deſerve, and believe the honor and honeſty of their *Quality* and Educati-

on,

on, the humanity of their *Natures* inclines them to be better Subjects to the *Civil State*, than the *Doctrines* of their *Church*: but what if they had never attempted any thing againſt the Government, or having attempted, have never been ſucceſsful, are they therefore innocent, who maintain *Principles* deſtructive of the Government *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical*? I would ask this *Gentleman*, whether he and all the *Romiſh Catholiques* in *England* would not willingly have the Power of the *Papacy* reſtored among us? if he would anſwer without *Equivocations*, I am ſure it muſt be in the *Affirmative*: then would I demand, Whether this muſt not make an *Alteration* in the Government? ſince it is now Eſtabliſhed, and as he well obſerves (*pag.* 201.) ever was, upon a direct oppoſition to the *Papal Supremacy*: I know they will anſwer; There would be an *Alteration*, but it would not be to the prejudice, but to the advantage of the Church and *State*: find me any *Overturners* of Government who will not ſay the ſame, and I will allow the *Plea*: but then would I further demand, whether he believes the *Canons*, *Decretals*, &c. as certainly he does, and would perſwade us to do (*pag.* 3.) and muſt be a Heretick if he do not; if he does, what does he think of the well known *Canon* of *Gregory* the Seventh, *Nos ſanctorum Predeceſſorum*,

deceſſorum, &c. *We* (ſaith that *Pope*) *obſerving the Statutes of our Predeceſſors, do abſolve thoſe that are bound by Fealty and Oath to perſons Excommunicated, from their Oath; and do forbid them to obſerve, or keep their Fealty towards them*, quouſq; ipſi ad ſatisfactionem venerint, *till they come to make ſatisfaction.* He knows the Conſequence of the *Canon* upon more *Kings* and *Emperours* than one. I will not trouble him with the *Helliſh* Opinions of *Mariana*, *Suarez*, *Bellarmine*, *Simanca*, *Philopater*, *Allen*, or *Sanders*. Some of which for very ſhame (*pag.* 215.) he is forced to diſown, as the *Opinions* of private *Doctors*; he might have ſaid with Charity, Doctrines of *Devils*, thoſe Incendiaries of the World, and perpetual Haters of Humane *Nature* and Happineſs: but by his favour, what he condemns *Mariana* and *Suarez* for teaching, a *Pope* was ſo far from being of his *Opinion* of condemning, that he commends it in the Publique Conſiſtory. *Pius Quintus* was his Name, who when *Henry* the Third of *France* was murthered by *Jaques Clement* the Monk, gave his Applauſe to the *Tragedy*; it was *Rarum, inſigne, memorabile facinus, facinus non ſine Dei Opt. Max. particulari Providentia, & diſpoſitione; verus Monachus Fictum occiderat. A rare, famous, and memorable* Exploit, *and not without the parti-*

particular Providence of Almighty God, *that the true* Monk *ſhould murder the falſe one.* Well might the *Painter* make St. *Peter's* Picture bluſh for the Crimes of ſuch impious Succeſſors as this.

I need not repeat the Tumults of *Rome*, nor the Wars of *Italy* under *Pope Boniface* the Eighth, nor the Reign of *Julius*, *John* the 12. or 22, nor all the Diſturbances occaſioned by the Pride and Ambition of *Popes* graſping at Temporal Power and Soveraignty. Here is the *Root* of the Matter: This *Canon* which has ſtood unrepealed this 600 Years, is the perpetual Foundation of Papal Uſurpations; to which whoever does not Swear, upon Occaſion, muſt be a *Heretick*; and whoever does, muſt, if the *Pope* pleaſes, be a *Rebel* to his Prince, and againſt the Lord and his *Chriſt*, whoſe *Goſpel* teaches the quite contrary *Doctrine*. And though notwithſtanding this, the Catholique Princes, and even thoſe of *Italy*, as he ſays (*pag.* 202.) *who live under the Pope's noſe, are not affraid of being Deprived, or Excommunicated, but are Abſolute and Arbitrary in their Dominions.* Thoſe laſt words are a good reaſon of their fearleſneſs for themſelves, but an ill one for their Subjects; and the ſubſequent words which he adds, a worſe for both, though abſolutely neceſſary to maintain their right: for they are not obliged to the Principles of

the *Roman Religion*, or their Peoples Fidelity, built upon the Sacred and Solemn *Oaths of Allegiance*, but are obliged to make the Sword give a Constant Security to the *Sceptre*; *Whileſt they diſpute with Sword in hand for their Temporalities*; So that it ſeems the *Pope* puts them upon diſputing their Right, and if the Sword of *Princes* be not longer than St. *Peters*, the *Pope* has the beſt Argument for even the Temporalities; and the *Keys* of the Kingdom of Heaven, can open a door to the Kingdoms of the *Earth*: Is not this a rare Principle of *Peace*, which obliges Princes to ſtand continually upon their Guard againſt the Incroachments of the *See* of *Rome*?

And whereas (*pag.* 215.) to ballance the Impious Doctrines of *Bellarmine*, *Suarez*, and *Mariana*, he throws into the other *Scale*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Knox*, and *Buchanan*; and tells us, *That their Opinions are at leaſt as dangerous to Monarchy, the difference between them being only thus; That whereas the former lodg the Depoſing Power in the Pope only (whoſe perſon is at a ſafe and ſufficient diſtance at leaſt from us) the latter bring the danger home to the door of Princes, and place it in the People, whom they make both Parties and Judges in the Caſe.* Neither the one therefore, nor the other, who maintain ſuch Doctrines,

fit

fit to be Tollerated by any *Prince*, who has not a mind to be depoſed either by the *Pope* or the *People*. But this diſtance, this ſafe diſtance was a prety ſweetning *Parentheſis* to doſe a *Prince*, with the *Opium* of being out of Danger: As if *Popes* might not have as long hands now, and their *Bulls* as long Horns as in the days of *Henry* the 4 *th.* or *Otho*, or King *John*: And as if the *Pope* were not in the Caſe of thoſe Soveraigns, both Judg and Party; particularly that of *Henry*, where the Quarrel was, whether the *Pope* or the *Prince* had the Right of *Inveſtitures* of Biſhops to their Temporalities.

But what if I ſhew him that *Calvin*, *Luther*, &c. are as good Catholiques as he, in this Point of Veſting this depoſing Power in the *People*? Pope *Zachary* being conſulted whether *Childerick*, being *Sine liberis*, *ſine ingenio*, might be depoſed, and *Pepin*, who was *Major du palais* Subſtituted in his room; in his Anſwer to the Peers of *France*, wanting a *Preſident* for ſuch Power in himſelf, tells them at firſt, that it was of that weight, *ut non auderet tam magni momenti cogitationem ſuſcipere*, that he darſt ſcarce entertain a thought of it; but tells them in Concluſion, *That ſince Princes hold their Crowns and Government of the Peoples Choice, in whom it reſides abſolutely Conſtituere & Deſtituere*

Vide, Avent. Polychron. Viterben. Sabellicus. Nauclerus, in vita Childerici, and all the Hiſtorians of that Age.

(a pretty modest word for Deposing) *to appoint or forsake, therefore they might remove him who was unuseful, and Elect him who was most Worthy.* So said, so done. See here a *Lutheran Pope*, abandoning Supremacy, for which now they contend as *prò aris*, and vesting this Deposing Power in the People. A Position no less Treasonable than contrary to plain Scripture in a hundred places; and therefore Damnable, to make Princes, whose Tenure is *in Capite* of *God Almighty* only, become Tenants at will by Copy of *Court Roll* of Popular Election and Deposition: If these be good Subjects, good Christians, who lay an Eternal Foundation for Perpetual Changes and Revolutions in Government and Governors, by tossing and tumbling Crowns upon the Tempestuous Ocean of the *Mobile vulgus*, let them be cherished, let them be Tollerated.

Let him now, which he ought to have done, if he could, or had meant fairly; Shew in all the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, the least Sylable that may any way be construed, even by Prejudice it self, to encourage Sedition, Rebellion, or deposing of Princes: He nibbles a little at it (pag. 261.) with, *What if one should say you were Antichristian, Bloody-minded, Seditious*, &c? Why, if he should, he would be guilty of a most notorious Calumny

lumny and Falſhood, becauſe he can never prove it. For our Doctrine and our Practice ſuites with our Prayers, which are, *From all Sedition, Privy Conſpiracy and Rebellion, Good Lord deliver us*; And if the pure Spirit of Primitive Chriſtianity, ſo Innocent, ſo *Unambitious*, ſo Obedient and full of Sincerity, and godly Simplicity, ſo Pure and Peaceable, and full of good Works, be only to be found in the Doctrine and Practice of thoſe who are the true Sons of the Church of *England*, let them be accounted the beſt Subjects, the beſt *Chriſtians*: And that therefore they deſerve the Encouragement, the Care and Protection of the Laws and Government, and not to be given up to be Waſted, Devoured, and Deſtroyed, trampled down and troden underfoot by *Tolleration* of thoſe whoſe Principles and Practice are ſo directly contrary to the *Peace* and Proſperity of the Church and *Nation*.

Litany of Ch. of Engl.

Chap. XIII.

THus it appears from the *Advocates* own Words, that none can juſtly plead for a Tolleration, whoſe Deviliſh Principles, and furious Practices, tend to the Subverſion of Government, which both by what has been ſaid, and by *Experience*,

rience, the ſureſt Demonſtration in the *World*, both *Papiſts*, and other Diſſenters, eſpecially *Presbyterians*, have been proved guilty of. Let us now ſee how he manages the Cauſe of his own *Party*, for whoſe ſake this *Project* of a *Tolleration* was principally intended, as is plain by his comparing *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Buchanan*, &c. with *Mariana*, *Suarez*, and *Bellarmine*, *Whoſe Doctrines are at leaſt* (as he ſays) *as Dangerous to Monarchy*; and therefore unfit to be Tollerated, the one or the other.

Let us therefore examine the *Plea* of *Innocency*, which he deſcends to defend in particular. And as their manner always is, (pag. 70.) he tells us, *That the Roman Catholique Religion was the firſt Chriſtian Religion planted in our Countrey, from whom we had our very Chriſtianity:* Suppoſe it were, yet *Quantum mutatus ab illo?* The preſent *Roman* Catholique Religion is not the ſame which they planted. But with his good leave, his Aſſertion is contrary, not only to great Probability, but to the conſent of *Hiſtorians*; for *Polydore Virgil* tells us, *Teſtis eſt Gildas, Britannos jam inde ab initio orti Evangelii, Chriſtianam accepiſſe Religionem*, That our *Anceſtors* received the Chriſtian Faith, according to the Teſtimony of *Guildas*, in the very beginning of the *Goſpel*. *Baronius* thinks

Pol. Virgil. Hiſt. Angl. l. 2.

thinks St. *Peter* was here; *Theodoret*, Saint *Paul*; *Nicephorus*, *Simon Zelotes*; Some, *Joseph* of *Arimathea*; and even when *Auſtin* the Monk came from *Gregory* to Convert us, as they ſay, to the Chriſtian Faith, he found a *Church* among us, as *Beda* teſtifies, *Bertha*, a Chriſtian Queen; and at *Bangor*, a Monaſtery, or rather a Colledg of many hundreds; who upon the Queſtion, Whether they ſhould admit of *Auſtin*, put it upon this *Iſſue*, *Si ſit humilis, admittat*. But finding him proud and Imperious, they rejected him, which they durſt never have done, had they believed even the bare *Primacy* of his *Maſter*, or that they were owing for their Faith and Converſion to the *Roman Church*.

Bar. An. 58. *n.* 51. *Theod. de curand. Græc. affect. l.* 9. *Niceph. l.* 2. *cap.* 40. *Baron. An.* 36. *n.* 5. *Bede lib.* 1. *cap.* 25, 26. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

I will not enter into a long diſpute about Merits, Pardons, Purgatory, Adoration of Images, or Tranſubſtantiation, which were but *actum agere*, only methinks the *Apothecaries* Argument deſerves to be put upon the File; who being preſſed to believe the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, told the *Zealous* Agreſſor pleaſantly, but truly, *Sir*, I will make a Wafer, and ſet a mark upon it, that it may not be changed, you ſhall ſend it to the *Pope*, let him Conſecrate it, and I will venture you a 100 *l.* you dare not take it: Oh ſays the other, but I dare and would; well, reply'd the *Apothecary*, then I will venture

a 1000 *l.* that you ſhall be dead before next Morning: which, if it were really tranſubſtantiated, were impoſſible, that the poiſon of the Body ſhould be the food of the Soul, and Chriſt be made a Murderer; which demonſtrative Concluſion, ſo little expected, puts the *Romaniſt* a little out of Conceit with his Doctrine, and ſtruck him as *dumb*, as the other would have done *dead*, for all the *Tranſubſtantiation:* there are very groſs Stories and Slanders abroad, if ſome in the *Romiſh* Church have not tried the *Experiment*, and have received their Death by what was given them as the Body of *Chriſt*, and the Bread of Life.

But I will obſerve his Method, (*p.*166.) He tells us confidently, *That there makes for them all that may or can be of any Chriſtian man required; Literal Text of Holy Scripture, approved Tradition, General Councels, Ancient Fathers, Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, Chriſtian Laws, Converſion of Nations, Divine Miracles, Heavenly Viſions, Unity, Univerſality, Antiquity, Succeſſion, all Monuments, all Subſtance, all Accidents of Chriſtianity.* Here is not a word of Proof, and therefore I may take the ſame Liberty in contradicting it, if I pleaſe. But to anſwer this, There makes againſt them Literal Text of *Holy Scripture*, of that *Scripture* which a *Cardinal* ſays is a Noſe of Wax, of that *Scripture*

Cuſanus Ep. 2. ad Bohem.

pture which the *Pope* has Power to inlarge at his pleasure, as the *Trent Councel* has done, making the *Apochrypha* Canonical. Of that *Scripture* which speaks not a single word for the Popes Supremacy, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Masses for the Dead, Invocation of Saints, Vows of single Life, &c. but in a thousand places against them; and therefore they are obliged to fly for refuge to their Approved *Traditions*, and set them in the *Throne* above the *Scriptures*, whose mouths must be stopped by the vulgar *Latin*, and the Vulgar confined from reading them; and even these approved Traditions are most of them such as the Universal Church never knew, never acknowledged; which yet *must be received with the same Reverence and Affection as the Scriptures*; for as *Baronius* affirms, *Traditio Scripturarum Fundamentum*, and the Traditions of Men are made the Foundation of Scripture, and of Faith. And the *Canon* Law of Pope *Gregory* XIII. goes higher yet, and sets the Pope above them all. *For men rather desire to know the ancient Institution of Christian Religion from the Popes mouth, than from the holy Scripture.* And yet all of their own Church do not approve these Approved *Traditions*, for *Basil* says, *It is necessary and agreable to Reason, that all men learn what is their Duty out of Scripture*, εἰς τὴν πληροφορίαν τῆς θεοσεβείας

Conc. Trid. Sess. 4. Dec. 1.

Bar. Ann. 53. Num. 11.

Dist. 40. Si Papa in Ann. Margin.

Basil. Reg. contract. p. 502.

βείας καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προσεσθιοθῆναι ἀνθρωπίναις παραδόσεσιν: *both for the fulfilling all Godlineſs, and leſt they ſhould be accuſtomed to Humane Traditions.* And *Irenæus* tells us it was the Cuſtom of *Hereticks* to call in *Tradition* to their aſſiſtance againſt *Scripture*, alledging, that thoſe *Truths* (as they called them) which they held, were not delivered by Writing, but by word of Mouth.

Iren. l. 3. c. 2.

AGAINST his General *Counſels* we oppoſe the firſt four, and have offered a thouſand times to put the *Iſſue* upon their *Verdict*. Againſt *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories*, *Ancient Fathers*, *Chriſtian Laws*, we oppoſe the frequent Forgeries of all theſe, detected even by themſelves, and the *Index Expurgatorius* which Caſtrates all the Fathers, that they may be fit Eunuchs for the Papal *Seraglio*, the *Vatican*, by being diſabled to propagate truth. For Converſion of *Nations*, we refer them to the Acts of the *Apoſtles* for the firſt Age, and for theſe laſt, to *Acoſta* the *Jeſuite*, and *Bartholomeus Caſas* a Biſhop in the *Indies*; their Converſion was ſuch, that *the miſerable People choſe to go to Hell with their Anceſtors, rather than to Heaven with ſuch Chriſtians*; and if their Relations are true, gives occaſion to the *Romaniſts* to bluſh, rather than boaſt of ſuch Converſions as were Confuſions and Conſumptions of thoſe Populous *Nations*.

Acoſt. de Ind. ſalut. procurand.

To

To *Divine Miracles* we oppose all those false Fictions, absurd and ridiculous Fables, and Legends of their Saints, the detection of which has not only now discredited their *Religion*, but given occasion to men of *Atheistical* Principles, to think it is all but as a Pope said, *Fabula Christi*: and to call in question the true *Miracles* of our Saviour, and that Faith which was confirmed by them. Such as are the Stories of *Tursellin* in his Lady of *Lauretto*, *Benedict*'s Miracles of the Blessed *Virgin*, and the greatest *Miracle* of them all, *Lipsius*, a man so learned, so rational, to dote in his old Age in his *Romance* of the *Virgo Hallensis*. *Vives*, *Bristow*, *Canus*, complain too truly of them, *That hereby no man is able to put a difference between the Miracles of Christ, and his Apostles, and those of these Mens forging.* And since the one have been often proved False, why may not the other be suspected too, especially being at so great a distance? and pull but down this Foundation, and all *Religion* becomes a meer Gullery and *Imposture*.

Canus lo. l. 11. cap. 6.

To his Universality I would gladly know, if, Historically and Literally, *Jerusalem* was not the Mother of us all? and that according to the Scriptures, *Repentance and Remission of Sins should be preached unto all Nations, beginning at Jerusalem*;

Luke 24. 47.

rusalem; as happened out [Acts the second] to all the known Nations of the World, assembled either for Curiosity or Religion at the *Passover*. And why may not *Antioch*, where the Disciples were first called Christians, pretend to Antiquity and Universality as well as *Rome*? since Christianity it self there first received its Baptism; and she may well be termed the Godmother of *Rome* her self, who had then neither received the Name, nor Faith of *Christ*? Are not the *Grecian*, *Armenian*, *Ethiopian* Christians, as well as the *Roman*, Members of the Catholique Church? and yet they own not the *Pope* either as to *Primacy*, or *Supremacy*, and thousands of them know not whether there be such a man in the World. It is hard to damn them all with a breath: and as hard for *Rome* to challenge this Universality, where she is scarcely known, and I am sure not owned.

The same may be said to his *Antiquity*: and even *Error* can scarcely be called the younger Brother of Truth, and is so much a *Twin* with it, as from its very Birth to have had its hand upon the others heel, in order to supplant it. Is it therefore true, because it is Ancient? Was not *Simon Magus* the Founder of the *Gnosticks*, as ancient as St. *Peter* and the other Apostles? were not *Phygellus* and *Hermogenes*, *Hymeneus*

meneus and *Phyletus* and *Alexander*, those Christian *Saducees*, *who denied the Resurrection, and overthrew the Faith of some*, as ancient as St. *Paul*? Was not *Diotrephes* (in probability the Parent of the *Aerian Heresy*) who, to Exalt himself, prated with such malicious words, endeavouring to degrade an *Apostle*, contemporary with St. *John*? if Antiquity will make men *Catholique*, these have a fairer Plea than *Rome*, who, in probability, received their *Errors* before she did her *Faith*.

2 *Tim.* 1. 15. 2 *Tim.* 2. 17. *Joh.* 3. 9, 10.

For *Succession*, we refer him to *Baronius* in his Annals (if he likes not *Genebrard*, or *Sigonius*) who will inform him of a Catalogue of *Popes*, and their several Characters, *Simonists*, *Boniface* 8. *Boyes*, *Benedict* 13. *John* 13. *Sergius* the 3. and a many more, about 50. who, as he says, *Deserved not to be put into the Catalogue of Popes*; but, as he affirms of *Boniface*, who murdered *Benedict* the 6. and *John* the 15. *were fitter company for* Sylla *and* Cataline. And these being *all Monuments*, *and all the substance of their Religion*, it will not be worth our while to Examine all the *Accidents of Christianity*, as the *Advocate* phrases it.

Baron. Ann. 985. *N.* 1.

I come therefore to his particular Vindication of them from the Calumnies, which, he says, are objected against them; and first to their refusing the *Oath* of *Supremacy*.

premacy. For if any *Oath* be lawful among Christians, it is a vain *Cavil* which he makes against this: for my own particular, I could heartily wish that all *Oaths* could be made more perspicuous, and less frequent; but there being an absolute impossibility of the one, and necessity of the other, we must submit to Humane Frailty. For no *Oath* can be so framed or worded, but it will be liable to the same Exceptions, by reason of the *ambiguity* of all words, and the variety of mens apprehensions and understandings. And by this *Rule* no man shall be obliged to take any *Oath*. But when any person takes such *Oaths*, he swears to the declared intention of the Government, which requires him to swear for their Security, and those under their Care. And this is designed only as a mark of Distinction between the Peaceable Friends, and the *Enemies*, whose contrivances and intentions are hereby either obviated, or discovered; and it being easy to be understood, and what all men know by the light of Nature, Reason, and Scripture, they who will not Swear to be Obedient to the Government in *Veritate, Judicio, & Justitia*, let the manner of Expressing this be what it will, cannot be reputed other than *Enemies*. Nor is the Controversie of Supremacy contained in the word *Heretical*, a speculative point, as he would per-

perſwade us, but a *Practical*; not whether the *Pope* has any Authority to *Excommunicate*, but whether he has any *Authority* here to Exerciſe a Juriſdiction to the prejudice of the Eſtabliſhed Government? and ſince he ſeems to confeſs that he has not, why ſhould any Chriſtian deny to give the Government all the Aſſurances that can be deſired? and if ſuch an Authority in the *Pope* be not grounded upon the *Scripture*, or the Practice of the Catholique Church, and no older than the *Nos Sanctorum* of *Pope Hildebrand*, and therefore Impious and *Heretical*, as being an Uſurpation upon the Temporalities of all *Princes*, may not any perſon (except he deſigns againſt the Government) lawfully ſwear that he diſowns both the Principle, and the Practice. And ſince the Clauſe of the *Oath* of *Supremacy* is explicated to intend *only Civil and Kingly Government and Authority in Caſes Eccleſiaſtical*, (pag. 184.) May not any man ſwear in *Truth, Judgment, and Equity*? if it be true, it ought to be the Judgment of every good Chriſtian, and it is a great meaſure of Juſtice and Equity, that he ſhould declare himſelf, and call *God* to witneſs, ſince as before was ſaid, men ſwear to the true intention and meaning of the Impoſers of the *Oath*, and not to any other ſence which the words will bear. But the plain truth

why

why they refuse, is because they do believe the contrary; and it is but reasonable, since they do, that by this Mark of Distinction, the Government should know who are *Friends* to it, and who *Enemies*; who by this Principle would Subvert and Overthrow it. And if a Man may (*pag.* 187.) *Use such Expressions as to Avouch, we verily think, and are fully perswaded that the Pope hath no power, &c.* unless he equivocates, may he not solemnly Swear it too, that he thinks, and is so perswaded? for no man is, or can be desired to Swear more; but if the truth were known, they neither think, nor are perswaded of this, but the direct contrary.

Had the *Pope* contented himself with the Jurisdiction of the *Keys*, and not invaded the Temporal Sword, for any thing I know, there had never been occasion for this *Oath*; or for Princes to draw out the Temporal Sword to do themselves and their Subjects Right, according to the *Advocates* Original and Fundamental Law of Protection and Defence, from the Unjust Usurpations of the *Roman Mitre*. And what he pleads against this Oath (*pag.* 191.) will serve all the Seditious Rebels of the World. For saith he, *Publique authority and safety riseth from the satisfaction of Mens Judgments, to the Justice of proceedings*; Then it seems, unless men be satisfied

be satisfied with the proceedings of Authority, it must fall, if that be the Rise of it: A fine *Popular Principle*, to ruine all Authority! But he proceeds, *Winning Respect and Love by that Equity in Government, and Moderation, which according to Gods ancient Laws, is settled and known, not by Arbitrarineſs of Will and meer Force; which, as to the Principle, is Tyrannical, be it never so temperate in the Exercise.* If all this be true, then ought all Publique Justice and *Coercive* Power to be disbanded and banisht as Tyrannical; *Princes* and Magistrates must learn to be excellent Logicians and *Orators*, to perswade and win, or else they will prove but slender *States-Men*; Thieves, Murderers, Traitors, and Rebels, may be perswaded (if they will) to be Obedient, but must not be Compelled, for fear of *Tyranny*. Well, let him go! The *Advocate* is but an indifferent *Lawyer*, and a worse Subject, if this be his Judgment, as it is his Pleading; I believe he will never be of the Kings Councel, or *Solicitor General*; though he be so for a Tolleration.

To his 3*d*. Objection, That Papists suffer for Religion, not Disobedience, it is both False, and Frivolous; for never any *Priest* suffered *quâ Priest*, but *quâ* Rebellious, in maintaining a Doctrine contrary to the Scripture, and the Peace of the Go-

vernment. And the *Proviſo* of the 25 and 27 of *Elizabeth*, reſpects their Principles and their Practice, and not their Prieſthood. And had the *Apoſtles* Preached any Doctrine, tending to the diſturbance of the *Civil* State of the World, contrary to the Laws of *Emperors*, for that End, they would have ſuffered, as St. *Peter* ſays, *As evil Doers, buſie Bodies in other mens matters*, and not as *Martyrs*.

1 *Pet.* 4. 15.

To his 4*th*. Objection, Why *Papiſts* come not to our Churches: They did come even after the Council of *Trent*, till the Excommunication of *Pius Quintus*; and therefore became Recuſants, not for Religion or Conſcience, but *Supremacy*. And for King *James* his calling the *Pope*, *Patriarch* of the *Weſt*, I cannot tell what he will advantage the Cauſe by that; for he may be ſo, and yet no more our *Patriarch*, than of the *Indies*, before they were diſcovered, for neither the one nor the other are in *Conſtantines* Donation. Nor indeed is that any where but in *Utopia*: And yet it may be he had never been denyed his *Primacy*, if he could have been contented with it, as the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* is with a *Primacy* over us in purely Spirituals, without advancing it to a *Supremacy* over All.

He makes very light (*pag.* 218.) of the Gunpowder-*Treaſon*, and would be contented

tented to have that buried in *Oblivion*, which ſhould have buried a whole *Nation*, in Blood, Horror, and Confuſion. But by his Favour, it will not paſs ſo; for even that *Right Honorable* and Noble Lord, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, whom (*pag.* 222.) he calls an Eminent Papiſt; was it ſeems then Converted by the Certainty of the belief that he had, that this was the Practice, and not in Confeſſion, as he inſinuates (*pag.* 220.) of *Hall*, *Garnet*, *Greenwell*, and *Gerrard*, and not of *Salisbury*, of whom he ſays King *James* was uſed to call the *5th.* of *November*, *Cecil*'s Holiday. For even this very Eminent Papiſt, the *Earl* of *Northampton*, *who was no Friend to the Stateſmen*, yet was ſo great a Friend of Truth, that being one of the Commiſſioners for the Tryal of *Garnet*, and his Complices in the *Treaſon*; made there a moſt Excellent *Speech*, wherein he Demonſtrates fully, clearly, and moſt Eloquently, the Haynouſneſs and Certainty of the *Crime*; and that *Garnet*, *Gerrard*, and *Greenwell*, ſent Sir *Edward Baynham*, to carry the Meſſage to the *Pope*, not as Pope, but as a Temporal *Prince*; and that *Garnet* writ Letters to the *Pope* upon the Subject. He further ſhews the Danger of ſuch Doctrines Deſtructive to all Government and Religion; and that the ſevereſt Puniſhments were

juſtly due to ſuch (Litterally) Incendiaries: Which Speech Printed 1606, I have now by me, and wonder why the *Advocate* ſhould plead him a *Papiſt*. Since he makes a Diſtinction there, telling *Garnet*, *That ſome of his Society ſuffered in the late Queens time, for preſuming to Exerciſe a Juriſdiction in this Realm, that neither Policy of State can admit, nor Allegiance juſtify:* He calls *Chicheley* Chancellor to *Henry* the 5*th. a Prelate of their own*, and ſtiffly defends by Examples *of our Anceſtors (who were neither Lutherans nor Hugonots, as our Countrey men are called* (ſays he) the Kings Right againſt the *Roman* Uſurpation of Supremacy: *And if Princes* (adds he) *that were abſolutely Catholiques, were ſo ſuſpicious of their Prerogative, and caſt ſuch a watchful Eye upon the Popes Encroachments; how much more Jealous ought true Subjects and Sworn Servants to be, in our days, careful of the Princes State; who being ſuſteined by another Root directed by the voice of other Paſtors, is as careful to Reform, as his Anceſtors to Conform; while they ſayled by another Compaſs, and upon another Coaſt?* Sure this was not ſpoke like an Eminent *Papiſt*, an *Anti-Cecilian*, but an Eminent *Proteteſtant*, tender of his *Loyalty*, jealous of his Countries Peace, Invaded by the dangerous Principles and Practices of *Romaniſts*,

iſts, as he calls them in another paſſage.

In ſhort, *Garnet*, at his Execution, declared, that whatſoever he had acknowledged in his *Examination*, was true, and there he did Confeſs that he was Privy to the Conſpiracy, by way of Advice, upon *Catesbyes Quere*; *Whether for the good of the Church, ſome Innocents might not periſh with the Nocents*; and upon his Affirmative, they proceeded. I am as willing to be Charitable as the *Advocate*; and think with King *James*, *that the generality of Catholiques did abhor ſuch a Deteſtable Conſpiracy, no leſs than himſelf:* But what of all that? It was not from any want of Induſtry in the *Jeſuits*, to corrupt their Loyalty and Allegiance; or prevented by any Principles infuſed by the Roman *Religion*: From any Writings of that *Age*, which were full of nothing but Treaſon and Rebellion; the Lawfulneſs of the Popes Power of Excommunicating and depoſing *Kings*, and Murdering them too; Such as thoſe of *Sanders*, *Allen*, *Creſſwels Philopator*, *Simanca*, *Roſſæus*, a Book Canonized by the *Pope* in Conſiſtory.

For the Bloody days of Queen *Mary*, I will allow her as good and mil'd a Princeſs, as he pleaſes; but I cannot think ſo well of *Wincheſter* and *London*, two of her Biſhops, by whoſe Fiery *Zeal* ſo many,

though the *Advocate* ſay (*pag.*238) *but a very few*, went to the Stake in *Smithfield*, and other places, for denying the Sacrament of the *Altar*, and that they could not believe it. Which was not only for Religion, but a pure *Theological* point; the *Modus* of which, the Doctors of the *Romiſh* Church neither are or ever will be agreed upon; and it is a little harder meaſure to dye for ſuch a Point, than to ſwear to ſuch a one, as he *dare avow, and verily believes, &c.*

I might ſay much more, and take notice of many other paſſages in his Book, but I muſt not be *prolix*, only the Calumny, as he calls it, *which is reaſſumed by* Dr. *Stillingfleet*, and Dr. *Tillotſon*, (pag. 257.) that there are *Jeſuites* among our Diſſenters, troubles him much; but that it is not without Ground, I have heard, and I preſume, ſo has he, from Authentique hands of one *Father Brown* a *Jeſuite*, who boaſted on his Death-bed at *Ingeſton Briggs* in *Scotland*, that he had Preached as down-right *Popery* in the Field *Conventicles*, as ever he had Preached at *Rome* it ſelf: And truly, by the Conformity of their Principles and *Actions*, one with another, one can ſcarcely tell whether the *Jeſuits* are *Presbyteriz'd*, or the Presbyters *Jeſuited*, they are ſo very like?

By this time, I hope, it is not to be doubted,

doubted, by any who have not wholly devoted themſelves with a blind *Zeal* and Obedience, as well as *Implicite* Faith to the *Roman* Religion; but that however innocent the Generality of *Catholiques* may be, how Loyal ſoever, and full of Allegiance, yet the Principles of their Religion are not ſo; Nor are they obliged to their *Doctors* for it; but to the Native *Generoſity* of their Countrey, to the *Honour* of their Families; and it may be more than all, to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in this Point: which by converſing ſo frequently with, they cannot be ignorant of; or not apprehend the horrid Uſurpations of the *Roman* Keys upon the the Temporal Sword, Crowns and Sceptres of *Princes:* And the Dangers that muſt neceſſarily follow from thence. Nor ſhall they need to fear either Puniſhment or Perſecution, but for the Practices of theſe *Boutfeus* and Incendiaries of the *World.* And whether ſuch a *Religion* as openly teaches and Avows an *Intereſt* contrary, and above that of the Prince, and which Authorizes thoſe who profeſs it, to raiſe *Seditions*, Tumults, and Rebellions, and it may be, has funiſhed other Diſſenters of Contrary *Opinions* in other Points, with Principles and Arguments Deſtructive of the *Peace*, Happineſs, and Quiet of the *Publique*, and of the Government

it self, deserves a *Tolleration*, *Let all impartial men be Judges.*

Chap. XIV.

From what has been said, it is Evident not only that *Tolleration* of different ways of Worship, under the same National Government, is utterly impolitique, and dangerous to the Foundation of Government, and the End of *Society*; but destructive of Christian *Charity*, and the Irreconcilable Enemy of Peace and *Unity*; being the Spring of Endless and Eternal Quarrels, Divisions, Schisms, Separations, if not *Heresies*; and the direct road to wild *Enthusiasm*, Heathenish Ignorance, Superstitious Will-worship, Licentious Impiety, and at last down right *Atheism*.

Let us therefore in the Spirit of Meekness, and Christian Compassion, try whether there be no way to *cement* these breaches among us, by reuniting the minds of Men, so far as is necessary for Christians to be *Unanimous*. For it is morally impossible there should be among all Mankind and absolute *Union* in their Judgments; mens Minds will differ as long, and as much or more than their Faces do: and from this impossibility I argue to the Unnecessariness

neceſſarineſs of ſuch an *Unity*. But as ſeveral *Palates* do naturally receive ſeveral impreſſions of Gratefulneſs to different *Diſhes*, even to contradiction, ſo that *What is one Mans Meat, is another Mans Poiſon*; what is the delight of one, is the *Averſion* of another, and yet all agree in the Common, Neceſſary, and Native Principle of *Eating*: So may ſeveral Men believe ſeveral diſtinct, nay and it may be contrary *Opinions* in *Theological* Queſtions, and yet agree in the Common Principles of Chriſtianity, allowed by All, *Faith* and *Charity*, ſo as to continue in *Peace*, Unity, and Godly *Love*. And that this is not impoſſible, we ſee by daily Experience; and that there are in every *Society* of Chriſtian Men, ſome who maintain one *Opinion*, ſome who maintain and believe another, yet notwithſtanding they retain Communion one with another. From whence proceed thoſe *Volumes* of *Polemical Theology*, with which not the Schools, but the whole *World* is fill'd, I wiſh I might not ſay afflicted? but from mens differing in *Opinion*. And if I may be permitted to ſpeak freely, Poſſibly the Entertaining the *Philoſophy* of the Schools into too great Authority in *Divinity*, has not contributed the leaſt to the Decay of *Religion*, and the declining of *Charity*: for the Endleſs Diſtinctions of *Schoolmen* have

minc'd

minc'd and crumbled Religion into a *Chaos* of Epicurean *Atoms*, which perpetually juſtle one another with a reſtleſs Motion, and whilſt each ſtrives to be entertain'd as a Matter of *Faith*, they run men into greater perplexities and Confuſions; and whilſt they improve in the *Theory*, they too commonly decreaſe in the *Practice*, ſpending that time in *Curioſity*, which ought to be devoted to Charity and *Action*.

I do not ſpeak this to diſparage *Humane* Learning, or the Uſe of Philoſophy: but as we ſay of Fire and Water, *They are good Servants, but ill Maſters:* ſo we may ſay of that, It is a good Attendant of *Divinity*, while it continues an humble Companion, but a dangerous *Miſtreſs* of our *Faith*. I ſet as great a value upon theſe Accompliſhments as they can juſtly challenge, but I wiſh they had kept their proper *Sphere* and Diſtance from us: and that theſe feeble Lights of *Humane* Knowledge, had not come to ſtand in competition with the Sunbeams of Divine *Revelation*, which ought always to be eſteemed the glorious Lamp of Chriſtian *Religion*. I know without the helps of *Humane* Learning, it is impoſſible, except by *Miracle*, to to Read or Underſtand the Holy *Oracles* which were committed to the Cuſtody of thoſe Languages of *Greek* and *Hebrew*.

I

I know it is impossible without their assistance, to search the *Registers* of former days, or to be acquainted with the Doctrine, Practice, and Customes of the Ancient Catholique Primitive *Church*: a deficiency in which kind of Learning, in our *Clergy* especially, (who do but too commonly make all their Applications to *Popular Oratory*, rather than Church *History*) has been the occasion of many mistakes in men otherwise learned; and it may be we are owing for that Dislike and *Aversion*, if not hatred of Dissenters to *Episcopacy*, rather to their little travail in *Antiquity*, which they despise, because they do not know, than to any solid Arguments they can bring against it. I am satisfied that it is necessary for the Discovery of the Rise, Growth, Reason, and occasion of Errors, and *Heresies*, which are apt, for want of this, to revive and spring up again: and to see how they have been condemned by the *Catholick* Church, and the Reasons why: all that I have to say, is, That it may be so restrained as not to deserve St. *Pauls* Character of vain *Philosophy*; by committing Outrages and Insolencies upon our *Faith*. For till such time as men come to quit themselves from these Usurpations upon their Understanding, *by the Oppositions of Science, falsly so called*, and can be perswaded not to Credit their own *Opi-* 1 *Tim.* 6. 20.

nions,

nions, or those of their *Party*, with an equal certainty, as they do those Truths which are *Divinely* revealed from Heaven, there is little possibility of Reconciling them one to another in the amicable composure of Christian Meekness, as it is to Reconcile their *Opinions* one to another, or to Truth: and so long as men contend with the same Animosity and Eagerness for either side of a *Theological Question*, as they do *for that Faith which was once delivered to the Saints*, they will never entertain any kinder thoughts of one another, than that both are *Hereticks*: when after all their hot Contention, they cannot arrive at a higher degree of knowledge than *Probability*; and that amounts to no more than this, that though one part of the *Opinion* may be true, yet it is possible that both may be *false*: and why then should this be obtruded upon any other Person as *de Fide*.

Jude.

THERE is nothing that puzzles our Understandings more than the *Modes* of things; nor are we more in a Mist than when we come to the *Hows? How is this done; or how comes that to be so?* this is indeed the *Terra del fuego*, the *Intellectualis Incognita*; in which the boldest Adventurers are but Coasters, and can give but a lame account of all those vast *Territories*, and Inland *Regions* of the Understanding.

I

I dare undertake to plunge the moſt learned *Philoſopher* in the World, about the meaneſt *Inſect*, the ſmalleſt *Plant*, how they are produced, how preſerved and increaſed, and how they return again to the Common boſom of the firſt *Matter*? and though this preſent *Age*, notwithſtanding the deriſion of the Ignorant, has made the greateſt Advances in Experimental *Philoſophy*, and travail'd further in the *Modes* of things than all that ever were before, yet I am confident their knowledge does but ſhew them their *Ignorance*, and teaches them Modeſtly to confeſs, that their higheſt attainments are terminated in Probabilities, and rational *Conjectures*, and not in Certainties. What is plainer than that the *Sun* ſhines, and that by the light of it we diſcover all viſible Objects? but *how?* remains *ſub judice*, and will do ſo, till *Elias* comes, as the *Rabbins* ſay: and will be the perpetual puzzle both of the *Peripateticks*, and *Carteſian Globularians*. Since then we are ſuch ſtrangers to our very ſenſes, and their Natural *Objects*, which appear plain to us, with which we converſe ſo conſtantly and familiarly; how can we expect to make greater progreſſes of knowledge in the *Underſtanding?* when the Soul it ſelf would be a great *Riddle* in deſpight of all *Philoſophy*, if Faith did not come in to its *reskue:* nor can I tell which

which way, without that assistance, it would be able to defend its Original, or Duration, its Immortality, or Distinction from that of *Brutes*, more then in degrees. And though an *Apostle*, who himself was admitted into the Glorious Regions of the
2 Cor. 12. 2, 3. third Heavens, could not tell how, *Whether in the Body, or out of the Body, God knows:* and therefore Experimentally
1 Cor. 13. 12. assures us, *That we see through a Glass darkly*, ἐν αἰνίγματι, in the obscurity of a *riddle*, and that we know but in part. Yet all this notwithstanding, such is the *Opinion* that we have of our Knowledge, and Discoveries, and more commonly in *Divinity* than any thing; that *Magisterially* we pronounce our *Opinion* for undoubted truth; our beloved Fancies for *Objects* of Faith; and our *Conjectures* for Certainties; and proud of our imaginary εὑρηκα, the whole *World* must know it, to do us Honor for the *Discovery*; and must honor us by believing it, or become our *Hatred*. There can never be the least hope of *Unity*, no more than there is possibility of *Unanimity*, unless men will agree about some Common Principles, which may be the *Centre* of Christianity, where though their *Opinions* in Circumstantials, which are not contrary to *Faith* and good Manners, may be permitted to be drawn at a distance towards the *Circumference*

ference, yet all their Actions may be United, and terminate in the *Unity* of *Charity*.

I know it is a high and hazardous Attempt, to offer any ſuch thing to the Conſideration, or but View of the *World*: the hight amazes me, and is ready not only to turn my Brains, but all the Reſolutions I can aſſure my ſelf withal, back again from the *Enterpriſe*. I tremble, though even with the greateſt Humility, I ſpeak my thoughts in an *Affair* of that Moment, the very thinking of which is not excuſable from all *Preſumption*; and looks but too like being wiſe in my own Eyes, and prudent in my own *Conceit*: but as I do it with all ſubmiſſive *Charity*, ſo I hope I ſhall find *Charity* from others, and that part of it which hides a multitude of Faults.

THERE are three things which appear the Foundation of all Diſſention. Firſt, What is Matter of *Faith*. Secondly, What is the true *Form* of Government. Thirdly, The *Judge* of Differences and Controverſies. For Chriſtians diſſent and ſeparate from one another, either becauſe they imagin of each other, that they do not *believe* aright: or becauſe they diſlike the *Government*, or becauſe they will not *ſubmit* to any Determinations, being not agreed among themſelves of a Common *Judge* of Controverſies.

WE

We will begin with the first. Now *Faith* being the Foundation of Christian *Religion*, is, *The firm Assent of the mind to the Certainty of such Propositions as are the Conditions required by God, to be by us believed, in Order to our living well here; So as that we may obtain Eternal Happiness hereafter in Heaven.* For as the *Author* to the *Hebrews*, says, *Without Faith it is impossible to please him, for he that cometh unto God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of those that seek him.* *Faith* being therefore the Foundation of *Practice*, and so absolutely requisite to Salvation; and the Design of Almighty *God*, being, *that all men should be saved by coming to the knowledg of the Truth.* For *Christ gave himself a Ransom for All.* It must be such a *Condition* in Order to this End, as All may have; *That so God may be Justified when he speaks, and clear when he Judges*; and if men be not saved, it may appear it was through their own Folly, and not from the difficulty of the Condition which God offers. For it would be infinitely derogatory to the Wisdom and Goodness of the *Divine Nature*, to the *God* of Love, the only Wise *God*, to give such a Condition of Salvation, as All were not capable of attaining: For Salvation is not confined to the Wise and Learned: nay, St. *Paul* seems to intimate the

Heb. 11.6.

1 *Tim.* 2.4,6.

Psal. 51.4.

1 *Cor.* 1.26.

the Contrary, *Not many Wiſe men are called*, but *it is the Common Salvation*, in which all, Rich and Poor, High and Low, Young and Old, the Learned and Unlearned, the Wiſe and the Simple, have a ſhare. The Foundation of this *Aſſent* to the Conditional Propoſitions of Salvation, is not therefore our Underſtanding of them to be true, by the Power of *Reaſon*, our comprehending or apprehending the manner of them, but it ſprings from the Confidence that we have of the *Veracity* of him who propounds them to our Belief: and that we are aſſured that he will not, becauſe he cannot deceive us, becauſe he is *Truth* it ſelf, as whoever believes a Supreme *Being*, muſt of Neceſſity believe Truth to be of his *Eſſence*. Jude 3.

THUS I believe the Glorious *Myſtery* of the *Trinity*, Three Perſons, but one *God*, the Incarnation of the Son of *God*, the proceeding of the *Holy Ghoſt* from the *Father* and the *Son*, the Reſurrection of the *Body*, and the reſt of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith; not becauſe I dare pretend to underſtand them, or to give a Satisfactory *Reaſon* to my ſelf, how this can be? Or why it ſhould be? but I reſt my ſelf ſatisfied upon the aſſurance that he who requires me to believe it, cannot deceive me, nor require me to believe what is not moſt certainly true. But *God* being in Heaven, in that inacceſſable

Light of Glory, and I upon *Earth*, there must be therefore some *Internuncius* between us, that so I may receive these Conditions of Salvation to be believed. This Office was in former times committed to the Prophets, and God spake by them; For *God is only true, and all Men may be Lyars*, and therefore *all Scripture was given by Inspiration; and came not at any time by the Will of Men, but Holy Men of God spoak, being moved by the Holy Ghost.* But the great Prerogative of Christian *Religion*, is, *That God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in times past unto the Fathers, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son; whom he hath appointed Heir of all things; by whom also he made the Worlds.* Now these Holy Instruments, whom God employed to declare his Will to Men, that they might obtain Credit to their Message, were assisted with power of working *Miracles*, which were the Letters Testimonial, the *Credentials* of *Heaven*, in their behalf, to assure the incredulous *World*, that they were Messengers and Ambassadors from *God*; for it is a Natural Inference which *Nicodemus* made, even whilest he was so Unregenerate, that he thought Regeneration an Impossibility. *Rabbi, we know that thou art a Teacher come from God, for no man can do these Miracles that thou doest, except God*

Rom. 3. 4.
2 *Tim.* 3. 16.
2 *Pet.* 1. 21.
Heb. 1. 1.
Jo. 3. 2.

God be with him. This Revelation of Gods Will, Confirmed to be so by *Miracles*, Signs, and Wonders, when it comes to be considered and attended to, will gain the *Assent* of the Mind, and that these must needs be Truths of a Divine Extract and *Original*; Since All their Precepts are free from any Design, but the Advantage of those to whom they are proposed, and to make them partakers of the *Divine Nature*, by the practice of that Truth, Innocence, Justice, Temperance, and Purity, which they do so Universally require as the Way to Happiness, both in this Life, and that of *Celestial* Glory and Immortality. And these Commands Collected into a *Body*, we call the *Holy Canon of Sacred Scriptures*. I think, I need not produce Arguments to prove those Writings to be the *Word* and Will of *God*; that being a Principle so confessed, that without it, no Man can be called a *Christian*; & I am not now to deal with *Heathens*, or *Infidels*.

From this *Postulatum* granted, these Conclusions will Naturally follow; First, *That Faith does not depend upon Humane Authority, but upon Divine Revelation.* For it came not by the Will of Man, but by the Will of *God:* And therefore no Humane *Authority* has any power to Impose upon the Belief, any thing either contrary, or more than *God* has plainly revealed to

be his Will, as the Condition of our Salvation; for to Command what *God* has not commanded, as such a Condition, is insufferable *Pride* and Insolence; an Usurpation upon the Incommunicable *Prerogative* of him, *who is the Author and the Finisher of our Faith.* How great then is the Impiety of those, who contrary to the practice of the Universal Church for 1500 years, have added the Books of *Apocrypha*, meer Humane Writings, to the *Holy Canon*, and under pain of Damnation Impose them upon us as matters of *Faith*, and Conditions of Salvation? How Unreasonable is it to make *Tradition* the Foundation of *Faith*, and of Equal value with the *Holy Writings*? Of which *Traditions* there being so great Uncertainty, it is very Improbable our Faith should receive any Confirmation from them: For what is liable to a doubt it self, is very unlikely to take away all cause of Doubting. Yet this is the Faith of the *Roman* Church in their *Unwritten Verities.*

Heb. 12. 2.

SECONDLY, it follows, That nothing ought to be Imposed as *De Fide*, and the Necessary Condition of Salvation, but what is clearly Demonstrable to be the Will of *God* revealed; and which all Men, because all are capacitated for Salvation, may easily Understand to be so: And since all men have an Equal Title to Sal-

Salvation, upon their performance of the Conditions by *God* required to be believed and done, therefore what *Faith* will Save the Unlearned, will also save the *Learned:* For *God* proposeth no different *Methods*, more for the one than the other, *for he is no respecter of Persons, but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted with him.* Act. 10. 35. So that he who is Baptized, Repents, Lives Righteously, Godly and Soberly in this present World, believing the Gospel of our Lord, and obeying it according to that Belief, shall certainly *receive the end of his Faith, and hope the Salvation of his Soul.* For these are Truths so clearly contained in the *Scripture*, that the meanest *Capacity* may understand them, and perform the *Conditions* required. Now what is necessary for one, sufficient for one, is necessary and sufficient for all, and whatever is proposed more, is *Superfluous*; since he that believes this and no more, shall certainly be saved, and he that believes more, shall but be *saved:* It is therefore the most unreasonable thing in the *World*, to Impose the *Modus* of any thing which *God* has not clearly revealed, upon Men as Essential to *Salvation:* For most of those *Modes* are *Metaphysical* Notions, which do as far exceed the *Capacities* of the Greatest part of *Mankind*, as the *Mysteries* of

the Incarnation and *Trinity*, &c. do those of All, and even of the Angels, *who desire*
1 Pet. 1. 12. *to peep or pry into them*, παρακύψαι, because they do not fully Understand them. Is it not unreasonable to exact that from me upon the *Credit* of a Man, or many Men Saying so, which they are not able to shew me one positive Testimony, or clear Consequence for, from the mouth of *God*, that it is so? and that though I believe all that he requires, as the *Condition* of Salvation, yet I must be Accursed, and Secluded from *Salvation*, because I will not *Lye*, and say, I believe, what in Truth I cannot, for want of Evidence or *Capacity*? Must I forfeit all I have on *Earth*, and my hopes of *Heaven* too, because I do not believe this or that *Doctrine*, which *God* has given me a *Capacity* to believe, nay, which it may be contradicts all those Capacities of Sense and Reason, which he has given me, that I might believe them, and which give me occation to doubt his Truth; for if he deceive my Senses, he may deceive my Understanding and my Hopes at last? Is not this to make *God* an Austere *Master*, gathering where he has not scattered; and like the *Egyptian* Taskmasters, to require Brick where he has not afforded Straw to make it? Far be it from the *Judg* of all the Earth to do this Wrong! This is the very Case of the Sacrament of the *Altar*

in

in Transubstantion: For it is not enough to believe that *Christ* is really present there; but I must give my senses the Lye, which neither see him nor feel him (a greater degree of Faith than he required of St. *Thomas*) I must discard my Reason, which assures me it is impossible that one Body should be in *Infinite* Places at the same time, and believe how he is there Corporally; or be a *Heretick*: Though neither they who impose it upon me, are agreed among themselves how it is, nor am I able to Understand what they mean; as the greatest part of the *Vulgar* are incapacitated to receive such Apprehensions; and the most *Learned* are not able to express them so as to be Understood. Sure it is very hard measure, that a poor Christian should be made a Bloody *Sacrifice* to Cruelty, because he does not, because he cannot believe that *Incruentum Sacrificium* of the Mass, and that the Glorified *Son of God* should be ravished from the Right hand of the *Majesty* on high, to become passible again, to Expiate for the sins of the Quick and the Dead: Which if it be true, must be the same that he suffered upon the Cross, and a Bloody Sacrifice, and as great an Impiety as that of the Wicked *Jews*, who *Slew the Lord of Life, and hanged him upon the Tree*; and if it be real, and not a Commemorative *Sacrifice*, is for

Heb. 6. 6. *Christians to Crucifie the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame:* and if it be not the same Sacrifice which Christ offer'd, it is not propitiatory; and in reality only a *sacrificing to our own Nets* to Ensnare mens Souls. The same Measure ought to be observed of all other *Theological Points*, which admitting of variety of *Opinions*, are not therefore to be imposed as Essentially necessary, and the Conditions of Salvation.

WERE this observed, it would put an End to those Intestine Quarrels which miserably rend the *Peace* and Unity of the Church, by enlarging Faith to the Destruction of *Charity*, which is making broad the *Phylacteries*, and forgetting Justice and Mercy. This would give a *Supersedeas* to those *doubtful Disputations*, against which St. *Paul* gives an Express Command. And Rom. 14. 1. if men were permitted to believe or not believe according to the probability and full perswasion of their own Minds, keeping *their Faith to themselves*, in a private way, which is true Christian Liberty; where men do not impose their *Opinions* upon others as *Essential* to Salvation, we should soon see an End of those Mortal *Jarrs*, and those Unchristian *Doctrines*, and their strange consequences, which have fill'd the World with *Error*, Horror, and Confusion, which Cruelty, Injustice, and

and Perſecution, not inferior to that of *Pilate*, mingling the Blood of thoſe Chriſtians with their Sacrifices, for whom *Chriſt* ſacrificed his. And were it poſſible to perſwade Men to this *Modeſty* and Moderation, the Occaſion of Quarrels being taken away, they would live in Unity and Godly Love; and not afflict themſelves, diſquiet the *World*, move Heaven and Earth for the Eſtabliſhment of a doubtful *Opinion* as matter of *Faith*, when, may be, it is not of *Truth*; and without the knowledge of which they may attain Salvation. Thus might Men Enjoy their Private *Opinions*, without any prejudice to the Publique *Peace*, and pleaſe themſelves with their *Knowledge*, without being puff't up to the Ruine of that *Charity which Edifies*, and to the affronting *Authority* by diſobedience, becauſe it will not permit their Private *Opinions* to Ride in the Triumphant *Chariot* of Conquerors over other mens Faith; then with St. *Auguſtine* might men ſay, *Errare poſſum, Hereticus eſſe nolo.* They might be miſtaken, and be neither *Hereticks* nor *Schiſmaticks*; they might differ from others in their *ſenſe*, and yet agree in the Common and Eſſential *Faith*, which as it owns, ſo always maintains the Communion of *Saints*.

For it is not Mens *Opinions*, but their Actions derived from thoſe *Opinions*, which diſturb

disturb the Peace of the *World*, and the Unity of the Church: and a man may be of a contrary *Perswasion* to another, in many things, and yet Live as becomes a good Christian, in Humility and *Charity* with him and all others; it is a ferocious *Pride* and hasty Passion which pretends to make the Narrow way to Heaven wider, by widening Differences, and by opening the *Gate* to shut out all besides our selves. The way is not in it self so narrow, but that if men were lovers of Peace, they might go thither without jostling one another; it is not the way for us to Enter in at the strait Gate, to do like the *Pharisees*, shut others out. They who pretend thus to be the Porters of *Paradise*, usually are without the Gates themselves, whilst they brandish the flaming Sword on every side to frighten others.

THEN would the *Doctrines* of Supremacy, Satisfaction, Purgatory, &c. which have rent the seamless Coat in a thousand pieces, cease to make Divisions in the *World*. But this we may wish and pray for, but can scarcely hope to see, so long as the insatiable thirst of Temporal Advantages stops the Mouth of *Truth*; and the desire of Soveraignty shall Exalt the *Idol* of Profitable Opinion, into the Throne and Sacred *Temple* of Divinely revealed Faith.

AND

And whereas for many Ages paſt men have beaten their Brains, *To beat their Plough-ſhares into Swords, and their Pruning Hooks into Spears*, have Employed thoſe Parts and Abilities (with which they ought to have *broken up the fallow Ground, to ſow in righteouſneſs what we might reap in Peace*) to wound one anothers ſides. Would they follow this *Rule* of Charity, we might ſee the Glorious Prophecy of *Micha* fulfilled: *For in the laſt Days it ſhall come to paſs that the Mountain of the Lords houſe ſhall be Exalted above the Hills, and all Nations ſhall flow unto it: and many Nations ſhall come and ſay, Come and let us go up to the Mountain of the Lord, and to the houſe of the God of* Jacob, *and he will teach us of his Ways, and we will walk in his Paths: and they ſhall beat their Swords into Plough-ſhears, and their Spears into Pruning Hooks: Nation ſhall not riſe up againſt Nation, neither ſhall they learn War any more: but they ſhall ſit every man under his Vine and under his Fig Tree, and none ſhall make them afraid.*

Joel 3. 10. Hoſ. 10. 12. Mich. 4. 1, 2, 3, 4.

I know it will be objected, That the Scriptures are full of Δυσνόητα, thoſe things difficult to be underſtood. To which I anſwer with the Apoſtle, *The holy Scriptures are able to make any man wiſe unto Salvation through Faith which is in Jeſus Chriſt; being given by Inſpiration of God, for*

2 Tim. 3. 15, 16, 17.

for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction, in Righteousness, that the Man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good Works. All this is contained in them in plain and easy Language; and who can desire more? what is necessary to be believed or done, is to be found there without such Difficulty, and that is all that either is or can properly be our Concern. The Design of Religion is not to entertain the *speculative*, or gratifie the Curious, but to guide the Practical Christian in his *Duty*. And if there be difficult places, there is no necessity of our Understanding them. For he that inspired the *Holy* Pens, cannot without the greatest Impiety be argued of acting negligently, insufficiently, or without *Design*, as other careless *Writers* may: and that they are not more clear and perspicuous, ought with a becoming reverence, due to the only wise *God*, to be believed, that they are therefore wrapt up in *Mysterious* words, either because they are not necessary, or not fit for us to know. Nor is there the least danger in such humble *Ignorance*; but there is certainly in a presumptuous *Curiosity*, and seeking after the Tree of Knowledge which *God* has prohibited by planting the Wall of *Obscurity* about it; and if we will, with the *Bethshemites*, be Peeping into the *Ark*, we may expect to be punished justly by wrest-

wresting the *Scriptures* to our own *Damnation*: and much more if, being Unlearned and Private Men, we undertake to give Publique Interpretations and Determinations different from both the Catholique Faith and Church. For *no Scripture is of Private Interpretation.* 2 Pet. 1. 20.

And that this is the *danger*, is as evident as the Punishment of it is certain: for here is the Spring head of *Errors* and Heresies; which always took their *Original* from the Transgression of this *Caution*. For when men will leave the plain and beaten Path, the easy Way to Happiness here, and Heaven hereafter, by Faith and Obedience, to seek for it in their own Wisdom and Niceties; it is no wonder, if they wander out of the Way of Truth; when they permit themselves to be lead by their Private *Opinions* and Interpretations, it is the blind leading the blind in the Darkness of Midnight; and no wonder then if at last they stumble and fall into the blackness of *Eternal* Darkness. For self-love is a very blind Guide, and self-*Conceit* a worse, and they must needs be in darkness to whom God denies the light of the Spirit, which he does in all obscure places of *Scripture*; and if, as he told the *Jews*, men therefore Err not knowing the *Scripture*, they must needs *Err*, who will know more than he will let them.

To

To confirm the truth of this Doctrine, and that the Holy *Canon* is, as the word Imports, a *Rule* not only of our *Actions*, but our Faith; I would desire any Person to give me a reason why he Believes the three Famous *Creeds* which contain the sum and substance of our Christian *Faith?* there can be but these three Reasons; First, Because he immediately by *Divine* Revelation is assured of his Faith; or Secondly, Because he is perswaded by some Person or Persons to believe; or Thirdly, Because he finds the *Articles* there mentioned, either in plain Words, or evident Consequences, in *Scripture*, which, for good reason, he believes to be the *Dictates* of divinely inspired *Penmen*.

The First all sober Men reject, as leading directly to *Enthusiasm*, and under pretence of Heavenly Revelations, to introduce *Hellish* Impieties and Doctrines of *Devils*, who having a Power to transform themselves into *Angels* of Light, may take that Advantage to Impose upon strong Fancies and weak *Judgments*.

For the Second, a man will thus argue, Why should I believe this or these Men, since all men are *Fallible*; and they who may be deceived, may therefore deceive; and if I believe this *Man*, why not another; why not *Mahomet*, who pretended to the *Holy Ghost* as much as they?

And

AND therefore Thirdly, *Faith* must be resolved into the first Principle of it, which is *Gods* Truth, and Infallibility, and that *Word* which I believe to be his, and therefore more Credible than the *Word* of any, or all Men. Thus was Faith first propagated in the World, and thus it must be increased; for the Multitudes to whom the *Apostles* Preached throughout the *World*, did not believe St. *Peter* or St. *Paul*, that Preached *Jesus, and the Resurrection, Righteousness, Temperance*, and Judgment to come; but seeing the *Miracles* which they did, they believed that this was the *Word of God*, and that *Jesus* was the Son of God, agreable to the Doctrine of the Prophets in the *Old Testament* concerning the *Messiah*. This Method our Lord made use of with his Disciples. *Then opened he their Understanding, that they might Understand the Scriptures; that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of* Moses, *and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning him: and he said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day from the Dead: and that Repentance and Remission of Sins should be Preached in his Name among all Nations, beginning at* Jerusalem. This Doctrine of Faith the *Apostles* believed, this they Preached, not as their own, but the Faith of *Christ*; this they Luke 24.45.

they committed to Writing, and delivered to the Christians as the *Rule* of their Faith and Life: For as the Scriptures of the *Old Testament, and whatsoever was Writen aforetime, was written for our Learning, that we through Patience and Comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope*; So were the Scriptures of the *New Testament* given us a new *Rule*, and a *Royal Law of Liberty; that we might not Glory in Men, neither in Paul, nor Cephas; But that we might esteem them Stewards of the Mysteries of God: And not to think of them above what is Written:* Which place, if throughly considered, teaches us not to prefer any Man or Men *above* the *Scripture*.

Rom. 15. 4.

1 *Cor.* 3. 21, 22. & 4. 1. 6.

This will appear further, if we consider the Nature of a *Rule*; for a *Rule* is the constant, certain, infallible, unchangeable measure, according to which I judg of any thing, whether it be true or false. And if I can but suppose what is offer'd me for a *Rule*, to be false, or if I know it is or may be false, it can be no *Rule*; because it leaves me in an Uncertainty, whether I am Right or Wrong. But the *Scripture* cannot be supposed to be false; for admitting that supposition, they are no longer *Scriptures*, or the Word of *God*; for every word of *God* is true. Men have been, are, and will be *Fallible*; *Traditions* are dubious, and uncertain, but *the Word of God*

God is tried to the uttermoſt; and coming from the Infallible *Author* of all *Truth*, is the *Touchſtone* of the *Truth* of Men and their Doctrines; and by that we examine, by that we judg of mens Faith and actions, *If they ſpeak not according to the Law and the* Teſtimony, *it is becauſe there is neither Light nor Truth in them.* Iſa. 8. 20.

The Miſtake ſeems to be in Confounding the Difference between a *Rule* and a *Guide:* and they who would advance the *Authority* of the Church above the Scripture, ſet the *Judg* above the Law, and Confound him with it. The Church is indeed the *Guide* which inſtructs us; but if her Inſtructions are not according to her *Rule of Scripture*, when we hope *for Bread, ſhe gives us a Stone, and inſtead of a Fiſh, a Scorpion*; Mortal *Poyſon* for wholeſome Nouriſhment. To Illuſtrate this, Suppoſe I deſire to learn the *Mathematicks:* I therefore apply my ſelf to a Perſon skilful in that Incomparable *Science*, and intreat him to direct me: He ſhews me *Euclid*'s Elements, as the Foundation of *Mathematical* Knowledg, and therefore reads and explains it to me. Pray now who is the *Rule*, the Maſter, or the *Book?* Certainly all men who have not forfeited their *Reaſon*, will ſay the Book is the *Rule*, the Man the *Guide*; and if he give me any thing for a *Demonſtration* contrary to

the Principles therein contained, I know by them that he is miſtaken, becauſe he he has not inſtructed me according to the *Rule*. The caſe is the ſame, only the Infallibility of the *Scriptures* is more certain, being founded upon the Infallibility of *God*: They are the *Rule*, the Governors of the Church, the *Guides* appointed by *God* for that purpoſe; to them therefore men reſort for Inſtruction; but if they teach either what is their own, or other mens, contrary to the *Rule*; they are falſe *Guides*; and why ſo? But becauſe they give a falſe *Rule*; betraying that high Truſt by *God* repoſed in them, to be Eyes to the Blind, and Feet to the Lame; to conduct them to *Eternal* Bliſs, by the Directions of that *Rule* of which St. *Paul* ſays, *As many as walk according to this Rule, Peace be on them and Mercy, and upon the Iſrael of God.*

Gal. 6. 16.

And even they who contend ſo earneſtly againſt the Scriptures being the *Rule* of *Faith* and Life, ought to ſhew ſome other End and Deſign of the *Scriptures*, and a better *Rule*; and not Confute themſelves, and all their Aſſertions and Arguments, by making this the *Rule* of Believing, whilſt they bring Arguments out of it againſt it ſelf, which they would have therefore believed, becauſe they are *Scripture*; plainly confeſſing it to be the Ultimate *Rule*,

Rule, and that nothing can properly be matter of *Faith*, but what is agreeable to it: Which has made the Romish Doctors sweat and toyl so vehemently to Extort Confessions from the Scripture, as *Tertullian* says, *Cædem Scripturarum faciunt ad materiam suam*, even Murdering it almost to make it speak to their purpose: And since they could not prevail with it to Depose against the Truth, they have put it into the *Inquisition*; Imprisoning it in the *Vulgar Latin*, lest if it should get abroad and speak *Truth*, as it would do in despight of all Opposition, it would proclaim their Injustice and Violence, to the meanest Capacities of the *Vulgar*, among them who would hereby come to detect the *Pious Frauds* and profitable *Follies*, which are imposed upon them, as matter of *Faith*.

Tert. de Præscript. adv. Heretic.

The ancient Church believed the Scriptures the *Rule of Faith*, and therefore took care to have them Translated into *Syrian*, *Ægyptian*, *Ethiopian*, *Persian*, *and other innumerable Languages*; as St. *Chrysostom* testifies; and *Theodoret* says, *the Bible was Translated into all Languages used in the World*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Persian*, *Indian*, *Armenian*, *Scythian*, *Sarmatian*. And this seems one, if not the principal Reason why the *Holy Ghost* did Miraculously descend in Cloven Tongues upon the *Apostles*, inabling them to speak in several

Chrys. Hom. 1. in Joh.

Theod. de Cur. Græc. affect. lib. 5.

Languages; for the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, Dwellers in Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, in Lybia, and Cyrene, Crete and Arabia, heard them speak the wonderful Works of God. If they might have used the Compendious way of Instructing them to believe as the Church believes, and had made themselves *The rule of Faith*, and like the Priests of *Memphis*, delivered their *Hieroglyphical* Faith from one to another, there would have been no need of all this; or of their Pains, who afterwards were so diligent to Translate the Scriptures into all *Languages*, to instruct all *Nations*, and to let them see, there was no Cheat or Juggle in *Religion*, by exposing it to the view of the severest *Criticks*.

Chap. XV.

I Suppose there are no Dissenters among us, except those of the *Roman* Communion, but will willingly accord the *Scriptures* to be the *Rule of Faith* and Manners. And though there may be differences between us and them in some Material points of *Doctrine*, yet the *Apple* of Strife is about the Government of the Church: Some contending for a *Parity* and Equality, as the *Presbyterians*; others for an

an Abſolute Independency of any the leaſt Congregation of Men calling themſelves a Church: Others for a Democratick *Anarchy*, as the *Anabaptiſts* and *Quakers*, and ſeveral other *Enthuſiaſts*: But all *point blank* againſt Epiſcopacy; though hitherto they have not been able to ſatisfie the World for what Offence. As for the Independency of Churches, I ſhall only ſay in ſhort, that it opens the way to endleſs Separations, and innumerable *Errors* and *Heſies*, no man having power to *Judg* of them, beſides themſelves: And flies ſo far from the *Popery* of *Hierarchy*, that it runs into a worſe Extream, and makes every *Paſtor* Supreme Biſhop, *Patriarch*, and *Pope* of his Congregation.

But theſe People having no Pretenſions to a *National* Government, appear not ſo Dangerous to the State as to themſelves; nor ſo troubleſome as thoſe who contend for Soveraignty, and endeavour to pull down the *Pillars* of the Church, to Eſtabliſh their own *Synagogue* and Spiritual *Sannedrim* of Lay-Eccleſiaſticks; and whereas the other will be contented with a *Chappel* of Eaſe, theſe make the World Uneaſie, becauſe they may not have the *Cathedral* and Mother Church. And this People, the moſt Induſtrious of all Mankind, the moſt Vigilant and Indefatigable, who compaſs Sea and Land, to

make *Proſylites* and a Party, as they are the moſt *Numerous* and moſt powerful, ſo are they moſt *Dangerous*, both in their *Poſitions*, and in their *Actions*; and whileſt they Clothe Epiſcopacy with the Title of *Idolatry* and Superſtition, as the Heathens did Chriſtians with the skins of Wild Beaſts, to make the Lyons and Tygers fall upon them; ſo do they; Then animate the *Populace* to Worry them by *Tumults*, Clamours, and Outcries againſt them: And under pretence of Deſtroying *Idolatry*, take Commiſſion from the Law of *Moſes* to break the Commands of the *Goſpel*. For a late Inſtance of which I refer the *Reader* to the Printed Narrative of *Mitchel* and his Field Conventiclers, the *Whigs* of *Scotland*, and to their former Practices in *England*, both againſt particular Perſons, and the Publique *State*; which fell a Sacrifice to this great *Idol* of Idolatry, and fear of *Popery*.

I will therefore endeavour to give a true Account of the *Office* and Inſtitution of Epiſcopal Authority in the Church; being not without Hopes, but that Men of Calm and ſober ſpirits will ſubmit to *Truth*, how contrary ſoever it may appear to thoſe *Prejudices*, which for want of better Information, they have been ſo long accuſtomed to.

THAT there ought to be Government in the

the Church, I presume no Judicious Person will make the least scruple of; in regard *God Almighty* took such particular Care of his Church in the *Jewish* Nation: And we cannot think, that under the *Gospel*, which is a better Covenant, he would leave it to *Anarchy* and Confusion. The Controversie is, What manner and Form of Government? Now that it was *Episcopal*, is the thing which we maintain, and I hope to prove, and not only that, but that it is of *Divine* Institution. And first for the *Name* of *Bishop*, which in the *Greek* is ἐπίσκοπος, an Overseer, *Christ* himself was the first *Bishop*, and is so styled by St. *Peter*, *The Bishop of our Souls*; St. *Paul* 1 Pet. 2. 25. makes frequent mention of the Name in his Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and calls it the *Office* of a Bishop; and affirms, that if any man desire it, he desires a good Work: *This is a true saying*, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, it is a faithful saying: And what is by the Mouth of *Divine* Verity pronounced, not only an Office (and that implies Power) but a desirable Office and good Work, cannot without *Sacrilegious Blasphemy*, be styled *Antichristian*; and it is no modest Impiety to Combine against *God*, and solemny Covenant and Vow the *Extirpation* of it, *Root and Branch*. *Thou that abor-* Rom. 2. 22. *rest Idols, dost thou commit Sacriledg?* Our Blessed *Lord* tells us, *Every Plant*

which my Heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up; & one would Judg by that *Rule*, that *Episcopacy* in the Government of the Church, were a plant of Gods own planting; since for 1600 years and upwards, all the Power & Malice of Men and *Devils*, have not been able to pluck it up: But he has graciously been pleased to Protect it; so that it has been *Like the Cedars of Lebanus which the Lord hath planted.* And he has made good his promise to be with them to the End of the World: And *Those that be planted in the House of the Lord, shall flourish in the Courts of our God, they shall bring forth more fruit in their Old age, they shall be Fat and flourishing; to shew that the Lord is upright* (just to his Promise) *he is their Rock, and there is no unrighteousness in him.* And what for all this Root and Branch! O vain Men! *If ye have run with footment, and they have wearied you, how can ye contend with Horses*; If you have fought with Men, and have not been able to prevail, how will you be able to fight with God? Remember *Gamaliel*'s counsel; *For if this work be of God, you cannot overthrow it*, (your selves, you may) *and will be found to fight against God.* And you will find that *Impar Congressus*, a very unequal *Combat*. The *Giants*, who thought to Conquer Heaven, Purchast Hell. Heaven is not to be had

Psal. 104. 16.

Phil. 92. 13, 14, 15.

Jer. 12. 5.

Act. 5. 39.

by

by ſuch violence as oppoſes it, but Hell and Damnation certainly will.

I hope the greateſt part of thoſe who do ſo violently perſecute this Name and Office, are like St. *Paul*; and may with him find Mercy, though they be Blaſphemers and Perſecutors, provided like him they did it ignorantly, *and ceaſe to kick againſt the Thorns.* And this they cannot do, unleſs they acknowledge both the Name and Office of a Biſhop to be of *Divine* Inſtitution.

Take heed, ſaith St. *Paul*, *therefore unto your ſelves, and to all the Flock over the which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers* (the Tranſlating of which Word hath occaſion'd a world of Miſchief and Miſtakes, and was certainly a great overſight, having made ſo many overſee the *Biſhop* in it) for it is in the *Greek*, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, *over which the Holy Ghoſt hath appointed, or placed you Biſhops.* So that however, the Name of Biſhop is not to be rooted out; nor is it Popiſh or Antichriſtian, as the Credulous Vulgar are made believe. I know what will be the anſwer: The ſame Saint *Paul*, in the ſame Chapter, *Verſ.* 17. calls them *Presbyters.* And this they think above all the places in Scripture concludes againſt Epiſcopacy, and proves not only the Parity, but *Aerian* Identity of Acts 20. 28.

of Biſhops and Presbyters. But ſtay, my Maſters, let not Paſſionate *Opinion* outrun *Truth* and Reaſon. *St.* Paul *an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, by the will of God* having Preached the *Goſpel* in all the *Cities* of the leſſer *Aſia*, being upon his Journey to *Jeruſalem*, he comes to *Miletus*; and from thence ſends to *Epheſus*, and calls for the *Presbyters* of the Church; upon their coming, he acquaints them with the ſorrowful Meſſage, that he was to leave them for ever, and take his laſt farewell of them: *And now behold I know, that ye all* (ſays he) *among whom I have gone Preaching the Kingdom of God, ſhall ſee my face no more.* Whilſt he was converſant among them, he was their Spiritual *Guide and Ruler*, but now that he was to leave them, and could not diſcharge that part of the *Apoſtolical* Function of Government, (which he calls elſewhere, *The Care of all the Churches, which came upon him daily*) in his own perſon; he therefore takes Care that there ſhould be ſome left behind him who might; and *Epheſus* being one of the moſt Populous Cities of *Aſia*, in regard of the vaſt Concourſe of People from all Parts to the Famous Temple of *Diana*: and there being many Congregations of Chriſtians there, he having *by the ſpace of two years continued there, ſo that all they who dwelt in* Aſia *heard the word of the Lord*

2 *Cor.* 11. 28.

Lord Jesus, *both Jews and Greeks*; he therefore sends for the *Presbyters* who resided in that *City*, by virtue of his *Apostolical* Authority; and there declares unto them, that for the time to come they were to take that care of the Churches which he had done: and that they might not do this of their own heads, or fear to do it for want of a Lawful Calling and *Ordination*; he declares the Will of *God* to them; and that the *Holy Ghost* had appointed them to be *Bishops*. So that they came indeed *Presbyters* to him, but they went away Bishops from him; and Bishops not of his own, but the *Holy Ghosts* appointment.

It is a Rule among Divines, *That where the Literal sense of Scripture is plain, we are to follow that.* And that this is the plain *Historical* and Literal meaning of the Words, without the least wresting or violence offer'd to them, is most obvious: and that by this Power of Episcopacy, which the *Holy Ghost* added to their former of *Presbytery*, they were to take the Care of the Government of the Church, as well in Ruling as Instructing, there are these Reasons:

First, When he sends for them he calls them *Presbyters*, and not *Bishops*, which, if there had been no difference, he might as well have done; and supposing that the *Holy*

Holy Ghoſt muſt foreſee that this Controverſie would ariſe in the Church, we cannot believe he would contribute to it by ſuch an ambiguity, but the contrary, that they were only *Presbyters*, as the *Holy Ghoſt* calls them firſt, and then advanced to be *Biſhops* by his appointment.

SECONDLY, He puts the *Government* into their hands, by reſigning his own, in regard he was to ſee them no more.

THIRDLY, He directs them in their Office, which he divides into three Particulars. *Verſ.* 28. Firſt, *To feed the Church of God, which he had purchaſed with his own Blood*; to inſtruct them in the Faith and Doctrine of Chriſtian Religion. Secondly, To watch againſt Errors and Hereſies: *Verſ.* 29, 30, 31. *For I know this* (ſaith he) *that after my departing, ſhall grievous Wolves enter in among you, not ſparing the Flock: alſo of your own ſelves ſhall men ariſe, ſpeaking perverſe things, to draw Diſciples after them; therefore Watch.* Now, what ſignifies Vigilancy without Power? and what Power have the Watchmen, but to Admoniſh, and Rebuke, and at laſt to Excommunicate the Obſtinate? And let them ſhew me this Power ever Exerciſed in the Church by any, beſides a Biſhop, and let them take the Cauſe. Thirdly, To Exerciſe Hoſpitality; to ſupport the *Poor*, and to *remember the words of our Lord Jeſus,*

how

how he said, It is more blessed to give, than to receive. According to another Precept of his, in which he comprises them all. *For a Bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality; apt to teach.* 1 Tim. 3. 2. Lastly, Here is no imperfect footstep of their Solemn *Consecration*, for when he had ended his Message and Direction, *When he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all.* Vers. 36.

AND to manifest, that though every *Bishop* be a *Presbyter*, yet every Presbyter is not a Bishop; and that the Difference consists in Power and *Rule*, which the Bishops have over the *Presbyters* as well as the rest of the *People*, I doubt not to make most plain from *Scripture* and Antiquity. For,

FIRST, St. *Paul* says Expresly, That it is one qualification of a Bishop; *He must be one that ruleth well his own house, having his Children in subjection with all gravity; for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?* how shall he rule the house of God? and find me but one Example in *Scripture*, or ancient Church History, where any one, who was not a Bishop as well as a Presbyter, ever Exercised this Jurisdiction of *Ruling*: the Presbyters had indeed a Rule, but with subordination to the 1 Tim. 4, 5.

1 *Tim.* 5. 17, 18. the Bishops. *Let the Presbyters that Rule well, be counted worthy of double Honor, especially they who labour in the Word and Doctrine;* (for anciently in the Church every Priest was not a *Preacher*, as is plain, not only from this place, but from the Church History) but that the Presbyters might not be Exalted beyond their Bounds, to think this *Rule* equal to that of the Bishops over the Church; he allays the *Tumor* in the very next words, and shews the the difference, the subordination, and subjection which they owed to the *Judicature* of the Bishop, as *Timothy* was there. *Against a Presbyter, receive not an Accusation but before two or three Witnesses*, which is not spoken of Private Admonition, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ, *unless there be two or three Witnesses, and them that sin Rebuke openly, that others may fear.* To receive an Accusation, plainly infers a superior *Jurisdiction*, a power to hear Witnesses, and according to their Depositions, to rebuke openly, is certainly an Effect of *Authority*. And he follows the blow close, giving him another Direction about *Ordination*, that he should *Lay hands suddainly on no man, preferring one before another by Partiality.* So that here is a distinct Power of a Bishop from a Priest; To lay on hands, or Ordain, to receive Accusations against *Presbyters*, to Examine Witnesses,

Vers. 21, 22.

neſſes, and according to their Teſtimony, to proceed to Judgment, to give Sentence openly; to Rebuke thoſe that Sin: even the *Presbyters* as well as others; for if they may be accuſed and convened, and found guilty of ſin, they alſo ought and may be rebuked and puniſhed: As to that place of the 5th *Chap. Rebuke not an Elder*; it is apparently meant of thoſe who are ſuch by Years, and not by Office Presbyters, or Prieſts, and to teach us that there is a reſpect due to the Reverend head, *Age*; as is plain from the words, *Rebuke not an Elder, but intreat him as a Father, and the younger Men as Brethren, the Elder Women as Mothers, and the younger as Siſters, with all Purity.* This he further Explains in his Epiſtle to *Titus*. *For this cauſe left I thee in* Crete, *that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in Order the things that are wanting*, Καταστήσῃς, *appoint*, *Conſtitute Presbyters in every City* (making them Biſhops) *as I have appointed thee.* That Saint *Paul* left *Presbyters* there, both in Age and Office, no doubt can be made: but yet ſomething was wanting ſtill, and becauſe he would not himſelf lay hands ſuddenly upon them, and the Affairs of the Church calling him away, he leaves *Titus*, a *Biſhop* there, to ſet in order what was wanting; that was, upon their good demeanour, to advance them into the Power of *Biſhops*, which Tit. 1. 5, 6, 7.

was

was wanting at St. *Pauls* departure, and the following words make it plain, that this was the thing wanting, and which he appointed *Titus* to do. By the Direction
Verſ. 10, 11. he gives about them, *For a Biſhop muſt be blameleſs, as the Steward of God*, (a high Office, and a large Juriſdiction) *for there are many unruly* (there was the Neceſſity of Biſhops to Rule) *whoſe mouths muſt be ſtopped, who ſubvert whole Houſes, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy Lucres ſake.* So that *Titus* was to make Biſhops in that Populous *Iſland*, that ſo they might have Authority, which, as Presbyters, they had not to, ſtop the mouths of the Seducers. And how were theſe unruly Subverters to be Treated and Go-
Verſ. 13. verned? even by *rebuking them ſharply, and ſtopping their Mouths*, ἐπιστομίζειν, by ſilencing them. And how could that be done, but by the *Authority* of the Biſhop, who was to let them and the *People* know, that
Verſ. 16. if they perſiſted in their diſobedience, *They were abominable, and Reprobates*, and therefore to be caſt out of the Church, *For though they profeſs to know God, yet in works they deny him, being abominable and diſobedient, and unto every good Work Reprobate.* Therefore abominable, becauſe diſobedient. *Silencing* then of *Subverters of Houſes, unruly vain Talkers, Deceivers*, is no new thing in the Church, nor *Biſhops*

ſhops Perſecutors for ſo doing. Nor is there any way of ſtopping their Mouths in the Church, but by this Authority of *Excommunication*; and if they ſubmit not to this, all their Pretences to Godlineſs will not excuſe them from denying him, and being Reprobates becauſe, Diſobedient. What muſt we then think of thoſe who will not have their Mouths ſtopped, either by the Power of the Church, or *Civil* Magiſtrate, but in the higheſt degree of Unruly and Mutinous Diſorder are Diſobedience to both: Indeavouring to draw *Diſciples* after them, that they may firſt take away from the *Biſhop* the defence of the Magiſtrates Sword, and then with Eaſe Extirpate *Epiſcopacy*, *Root and Branch*, Office and Name, Power and Authority.

THUS you ſee, that the *Holy Ghoſt* appointed Biſhops in the Primitive Church; you ſee their Office and Authority; and that Presbyters were their Lawful Inferiors, that they had Power to Ordain, to Rebuke, to acquit or Condemn, to ſtop the Mouths of the Unruly. So that here is both the Name and the Thing, the Title and the Office, confirmed by clear and evident Teſtimony of Scripture. Now let us ſee what Obedience is due to them. *We intreat you, Brethren* (ſaith St. *Paul*, and his Modeſt Intreaty I hope, without 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 12, 13.

out offence, pass for a Command) *to know them that labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; And to esteem them very highly in Love for their Works-sake, and be at Peace among your selves.* How know these προϊσταμένους, these *Rulers?* For they could not be ignorant of their Persons or Names, but know their Office, know their Power, that so by submission you may maintain Peace.

Heb. 13. 17. But the Author to the *Hebrews* is plain and Positive. *Obey them that have the Rule over you,* τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, which word will carry more than some Envious People will well like of in *Bishops*, and will not only intitle them to *Rule*, but their Honour too; as will appear to any who is not a stranger to the *Greek* Language; For it signifies not only a bare *Ruler*, or a *Guide*, but a *Captain* and a *Prince*, and warrants a *Bishops* being so in the New Testament, as well as a *Priest* under the Old: But to avoid Offence, I know there are none of those Reverend *Fathers* of the Church, but will be pleased to derive their *Titles* from another Fountain of Honour. I speak this to shew that *God Almighty* by his *Spirit* in Scripture is pleased to Honour them with the high Character of *Princes* and Governors; and that therefore they are not to be Vilified and Despised, as some *Wanton*, and other *Virulent*

lent Tongues and Pens too frequently do. But to proceed; He continues to ſhew what kind of Obedience this muſt be, ὑπείκετε, ſubmit your ſelves, without reſiſting, be in Subjection. And he adds the Reaſon, *For they watch for your Souls, as they that muſt give an Account, that they may do it with Joy, and not with Grief.* Does *God* expect an account of Souls from theſe ſpiritual Guides and *Rulers?* Then certainly he cannot in *Juſtice* leave them Deſtitute of *Power* and Authority to *Rule* and Guide, as means to enable them to give a good Account of their Charge: And to ſuppoſe the contrary, were to ſuppoſe an *End* without a *Way*. And ſince they have ſuch a *Charge*, all thoſe who are within their reſpective *Juriſdictions*, are bound to yield Obedience to them, as they will anſwer before the Bar of *Divine Juſtice*, for the Guilt, not only of Deſtroying their own Souls, but thoſe of others, whom they teach to Refuſe to *Obey thoſe who have the Rule over them*, and are appointed Biſhops by the *Holy Ghoſt*.

And whereas St. *Peter* calls himſelf a *Presbyter*, and by ranking himſelf among them, ſeems to intimate they are all one, this does not at all prove that he was not a Biſhop too: For he calls himſelf *Peter an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Humility in calling himſelf συμπρεσβύτης, their fel- 1 Pet. 1. 1. Chap. 5. 1.

low *Presbyter*, does no more prove that a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are the same, than that a Presbyter and *Apostle* are; for though they were his fellow *Presbyters*, yet they were not his fellow *Apostles*; and further, it appears that these *Presbyters*, of which he calls himself a *Sym-Presbyter*, were *Bishops* as well as *Priests*; for Writing to the several Churches scattered through *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*, and calling the Governors of those Churches, *Fellow Presbyters*, argues as much; but the second *Verse* puts it out of doubt, for he says, they must *Episcopize* Ἐπισκοπεῖτες, feed the Flock of Christ as Bishops; and therefore this place will never prove that the Authority of a bare *Presbyter*, is equal to that of a Bishop, or one who was a Fellow Presbyter of Saint *Peter*.

Let us see now what the next *Age* thought of it. I will not run through the whole Church-History, but content my self with the Testimony of *Ignatius*, who was the Scholar of Saint *John*, the beloved *Apostle* and Disciple of our *Lord*, who leaned on *Jesus*'s Bosom, and one may well suppose therefore, knew his Breast, and what Government his *Lord* appointed in the Church, and had Episcopacy been *Antichristian*, would not have failed to tell us so; and when h

he tells us there are many *Antichrists*, he would have told us that this was one, if he had believed it to be so; and have instructed his Scholar to put down and not Exalt this *Antichrist* in the Church of God. This *Ignatius*, who was afterwards in the Eleventh year of *Trajan*, Crowned with *Martyrdom* at *Rome*, being torn in pieces by Wild Beasts, as *Eusebius* gives us an account; he speaks as plain of the Difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter, as Pen can write, or Heart can wish. In his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, Πρέπει συμφώνως τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀποστόλων. *The Bishop* (saith he) *is seated in the first place, as in the place of God, and the Presbyters as the Senate of the Apostles.* And in another place of the same Epistle; *They*, says he, *who Act without a Bishop* χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου, *to such Christ will say, Why do ye call me Lord, Lord, and do not the works which I Command you? Such Persons seem to me not to be of a good Conscience*, οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοι, *but to be Hypocrites and Dissemblers.* And in his Epistle to the *Trallians*, he Commands them in the Language of the *Author* to the *Hebrews*, *To be subject unto this Bishop, as unto the Lord, for he Watches for your souls.* And in another place, he tells them Ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶν

1 *Jo.* 2. 18.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 3. *c.* 19. *&* 35.

Ig. Ep. ad Magnes.

Ignat. Epist. ad Trall.

ὄζιν. *It is absolutely necessary,* ἄνευ τῦ ἐπισκόπυ μηδὲν πράτ]ειν ὑμᾶς, *That you should do nothing without the Bishop.* Thus we see, the Sons of the Church in the first *Century* of the *Apostles* of Christ being yet living, thought of *Bishops* as we do. And therefore it is both Undeniable and Undubitable, that Episcopal Government was of *Divine Institution*, and that a Bishop and a Presbyter are two different things in the *Primitive Church* both as to *Power* and as to *Name*. I might bring a whole Cloud of Witnesses of less *Antiquity*, but if these will not convince, if the Testimony of *Scripture*, and so *Primitive* a man and a Bishop, as *Ignatius*, be of no value, I can have little hopes of convincing *Gainsayers* by multitude, who have abandoned Reason.

Epiphan. l. 3. Tom. 1. Hæres. 75.

THUS stood the Affairs of the Church for above 300 Years, no man making the least *Question* or Dispute, but that the Government by *Episcopacy* was of *Gods* appointment, one Bishop still succeeding another, as in the *Ecclesiastical Historians* my be seen in most of the Principal *Cities* of the World, till *Aerius* being Educated with *Eustathius*, and being his equal in Learning and *Age*, took it as a great disparagement that *Eustathius* was preferred before him to a Bishoprick, for which they were *Competitors*: upon this dis-

discontent he not only fell foul upon *Eustathius*, objecting (as our *Aerians* do) against him Pride and Covetousness; but his Resentments for the Mortal displeasure, broak out against the whole *Function*, contemning the prescribed *Fasts* of the Church, and teaching by the same *Arguments* with ours, that a *Bishop* and a *Priest* were all one by the *Scriptures*, of equal Power, Authority, and Jurisdiction, which, saith *Epiphanius*, is an Assertion *stultitiæ plena*, full of Folly. But this being but one discontented Priests *Opinion*, was neither much regarded, nor long lived; the current belief of the *Scripture*, and the constant Usage of the Church, which knew no other Government, run so strong, that he was drowned in it; nor did the *Heresie* ever float again till this last *Age*, of which St. *Clement*, who was contemporary to St. *Paul*, and his *fellow Labourer*, as he calls him, seems to prophecy in that *Epistle* of his to the *Corinthians*, which, I think, was never suspected to be spurious; where he tells us, there would come a time when there should be Ἔρις περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, *a contention about the very name of a Bishop.*

Phil. 4. 3.

Clem. Ep. ad Cor.

By virtue of this Power it was that the *Rulers* of the Church ordered and appointed all things which were done, which were of an indifferent Nature in Govern-

ment, as about the Obſervation of *Holy Faſts and Feſtivals*, the manner of *Celebrating* the Service and Worſhip of *God*, the *Prayers* and *Alms* of the Church, the Poſtures, Geſtures, and Habits which were to be made uſe of, and all other *Rites* and *Ceremonies*; following herein the *Scripture* as the Rule of Faith and Manners, and the General Precepts therein contained as *Rules* of Government, which were principally theſe:

FIRST, That nothing impoſed ſhould be repugnant or contrary to any *Article* or Branch of *Faith*, or a Holy Life, or to any Cuſtoms of the Church recorded in *Holy Writ*.

SECONDLY, That all their Commands might have a reſpect to *Decency*, *Order*, *Reverence*, and *Edification*.

THIRDLY, That All might have a tendency to *Unity*, *Peace*, and *Concord*, and that diverſity of *Cuſtoms* and *Opinions* might not breed *Schiſms* and Contentions; and I ſhewed before, how when in ſome of theſe things there was a difference in ſeveral Churches, yet ſtill they held *Communion* one with another, maintaining inviolably the ſame Faith and *Government* in all.

THIS was the Condition of the *Church* both as to Faith and *Polity*, till ſuch time as the great Powers of the Earth, the *Roman*

man Emperours and other Kings became Christians, and took up the *Cross* of Christ as the Glory of their *Crowns*. The first of which was *Constantine* the Great. These Temporal Powers then took the Church into their Protection, made Temporal *Laws* for the better Management of it, and to preserve it from the Injuries of Heathen *Idolaters* without, and *Hereticks* within: and having the Sword in their hand, undertook, as it was their Duty, to punish Evil doers, who darst transgress the Laws of the Church, with Temporal Punishments, as well as those who broak the Laws of the *Civil* Magistrate; and to incourage the Peaceable and Religious. From the Bounty of these *Princes*, and that of others of plentiful Fortunes, and and by their *Example*, the Church came to be Endowed with *Temporalties*, and an Honourable, Constant, and Encouraging Maintainance was provided and settled upon those who were to serve at the *Altar*; that so they might be inabled and furnished with all sorts of *Learning*, well knowing, that proportionate *Rewards* are the spurs to Learning and Virtue, as the *Wisdom of God*, for our Encouragement to Pursue and Obtain her, tells us, *Riches and Honour are with me, yea durable Riches and Righteousness, and that length of days are in her right hand, and in her left hand* Prov. 8. 18. 3. 4.

Riches

Riches and Honour. And that according
1 Cor 9. 11, 14. to the Apostolical Command, *They which sow Spiritual things, should also reap Carnal, for so hath the Lord commanded, that they which Preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.*

By this it appears, That now there was a double *Obligation* laid upon all Christians to be Obedient to the Commands of the Church; both because they derive their Power from *God*, and because the Temporal Power did now concur to strengthen the Duty by the Obligations of *Humane Laws*; nor can any thing, or any pretence of *Conscience* authorize their Disobedience to both those Powers, unless the things commanded be manifestly proved to contradict the Faith, or be repugnant to good Life; which till *Dissenters* can do, they will be obstinate *Schismaticks* before God, and *Rebels* against their *Prince*; and in a fair way to be *Traytors* too; whilst they break his Laws both *Civil* and Ecclesiastical; however they may flatter themselves with the Title of *Saints*. And so soon as they can prove their Charge against any of the *Ceremonies*, and that they are Unlawful in reality, and not only in supposition, they shall be gratified by their *Abolition*, or amendment, if that will do. And if they cannot prove their Accusations, would they be so unjust, as to have not

Justice

Juſtice but *Injury* done to the Innocent, by abrogating thoſe *Modes* of Worſhip and Cuſtoms in the Church, which the whole Church has allowed? that Government which *God* appointed, which he has approved by maintaining, ſupporting, and defending it to this preſent day, againſt all the Oppoſition of *Infidels* and *Hereticks*, thoſe two Gates of *Hell*? One would think that *Rule* of *Vincentius Lirinenſis* were ſatisfactory to men of Reaſon and Sobriety; *Quod ubique, quod ſemper, quod ab omnibus, id quidèm verè eſt Catholicum.* That which every where, always, and by all has been received, muſt needs be a *Catholick Truth*; but ſuch is the Power, Rule, Authority of Biſhops for Guiding the Church, and appointing the *Modes* of Worſhip. And they who will oppoſe this ſpring *Tide* of Univerſal Teſtimony, will but drown themſelves in the *Odious* name of *Schiſmaticks* and *Heriticks*, of whom theſe have been the *Characters. Mos ſemper fuit Hereticorum, quorum Doctrinam non poſſunt confutare, illorum vitam in Odium trahere.* It has always been the Cuſtom of *Hereticks* to aſperſe the lives of thoſe whoſe *Doctrines* they have not been able to confute. Which has been the conſtant Practice of late years againſt *Epiſcopacy* and Epiſcopal Men, to throw dirt upon the Profeſſion and Perſons, and then pro-

proclaim them *Odious*, when in truth the blackneſs is in their own Mouths, and not either in the Perſons whom they calumniate, or in the *Office*. Treating the Church as ſome Impudent *Villains* do the Modeſt Woman whom they cannot *Debauch*, Cry out, *A Whore, a Whore*, and ſet the *Rabble* upon her, who roll her in the Kennel, and cover her with dirt, till no body can tell what ſhe is made of, and then believe ſhe is what they have made her, ugly, and what the other would have made her, but could not, *Criminal.*

St. *Bernard* gives us a ſecond Property, *Hærent ad ſingula quæ injunguntur, Exigunt de quibuſque rationem, male ſuſpicantur de omni Precepto, nèc unquàm libentèr acquieſcunt, niſi cum audire contigerit quod fortè libuerit.* They ſtick at every thing which is by Authority enjoyned, they require a a Reaſon (nay and we may add, are not ſatisfied with Reaſon) for every thing, they are *Jealouſly* ſuſpicious of every *Precept* of their Superiors; nor do they ever willingly acquieſs in their determinations, unleſs it happens that they are agreeable to their own *Judgment*; and as St. *Auguſtine* ſays, *Niſi quod ipſi faciunt, nihil rectum Exiſtimant.* They think well of nothing, or *Judge* it right, but what they do themſelves.

Let St. *Cyprian* give them a third Mark.

Initia

Initia Hæreticorum, &c. *Ut Præpoſitum Superbo tumore contemnant. Sic de Eccleſia receditur, ſic Altare prophanum Foràs Collocatur; ſic contra pacem Chriſti, & Ordinationem atq; unitatem Dei rebellatur.* The Original of *Hereticks*, is, Contempt of thoſe who are ſet over them: So men ſeparate from the Church: So is a prophane *Altar* erected out of it: So men become Rebells againſt the *Peace* of *Chriſt*, Order, and *Unity*, becauſe, as in another place he ſays, *Epiſcopus qui unus eſt & Eccleſiæ præeſt, Superbâ quorundam preſumptione contemnitur*, The *Biſhop*, who is one, and ſet over the Church, is by the proud Preſumption of ſome Men Contemned, We may write a *Probatum eſt*, to theſe Prophetique *Truths*.

I might *Pyle* up Endleſs Authorities, and ſwell this Diſcourſe to a *Volume*; but if what I have already ſaid, be not ſufficient to Convince the greateſt Enemies of *Epiſcopacy*, that it is a Government of *Gods* appointment in the Church, I think all that can be ſaid will be to no purpoſe; and if this will, more would be ſuperfluous; if they will not believe the Scripture, *If they will not believe the Church*, *Mat.* 18. 17. it is our Saviour's Rule, *Let them be as Heathen men and Publicans.*

CHAP.

Chap. XVI.

Having now found a *Divine* and unerring *Rule* of Faith and Life, in the *Scripture of Truth*; and having also found there, who are by God appointed to be Governours of the Church, *viz. Bishops*. There remains only the great Enquiry after the *Judg* of Controversies and Differences, which is absolutely Necessary in the Church of *God*, to determine Differences which may happen, not only about Matters of private Opinion, but even the sense of the *Scriptures* and the Interpretation of the *Holy Rule*. And as these Differences may be of several Kinds and Natures, so there are several *Judges* appointed by God to hear and determine them, that so the Church may be preserved in Peace and Charity.

As to what is matter of Faith, Essentially Necessary to Salvation; That, *God* is the Sole *Judg* of himself: And therefore it has by him long since been determined, and received in the Church; and what ever by all must be believed, must be easy by all to be known, and is therefore plainly set forth in *Holy Scripture*; Nor can any be *Judg* of this, but what cannot *Err*, or deceive us, which is *only God*. And to say the Church is the *Judg* of

of this, and that it cannot *Err*, becauſe the Catholique Church does not *Err*, is to argue Fallaciouſly, *à non eſſe ad impoſſibile eſſe*: For that part of the Catholique *Church*, whileſt on Earth, conſiſting of Men, of whom ſome ſhall be ſaved, and ſome *Reprobated*; No man having a power to know which of them are thoſe who ſhall *be kept by the power of God through Faith, unto Salvation*, that they ſhall not Err, and to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe who ſhall not be ſo preſerved, and therefore there being a *Poſſibility*, that thoſe who may be *Reprobates* from the Faith themſelves, may yet be of great Authority in the Outward *Viſible Church*, it is unreaſonable to admit them as *Judges* of Faith, who *Erring* themſelves, my lead us into *Errors* too. And therefore God, who ſpeaks to us in *Scripture*, is only the *Judg* of what is matter of Faith, and what not; and it is to be tryed by that Rule, and no Authority has power to impoſe any thing as matter of *Faith*, Eſſentially neceſſary to Salvation, but what is there to be found. The *Harmony* of the Univerſal Church, that ſuch things as are offered as matters of *Faith*, are agreeable to *Scripture*, is in things not clear and evident, the beſt *Method* to obtain Aſſent to them: As the diſagreement of the Church, is to ſuſpend our Belief: But this can only be about

about such things as are collaterally of *Faith*, and by coming under the *Notion* of things *Dubious*, are matter of *Opinion*, and which if a man never knows, he may be saved, and therefore if he does not believe, he cannot be Damned, the Church is the *Interpreter*, but not the *Judg*; and indeed every man is a *Judg* for himself, by his Eyes, his Ears, his Reason and Understanding, whether that which the Church *Interprets*, be according to the *Scripture*, the *Rule of that Faith* by which he is to be saved, and which therefore it is necessary that he know before he believe it to Salvation.

But since doubts are of divers Natures, *Private* and Publique; let us see how any Person may be determined in both. First therefore, Where the doubt is only *Private*, about things not determined by *Publique Authority* derived from Scripture, which are of an Indifferent *Nature*, Every Mans full perswasion is his *Judg*, according to the best Evidence the things in doubt admit of from the light of Nature, Reason, or probability that they are good and Lawful, or Evil and Unlawful. This full Perswasion St. *Paul* calls *Faith*, *Whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin*; that is, what I am not fully perswaded in my own mind of the Lawfulness of, I cannot lawfully do. This was the Case of the *Gentiles*, who

who having only the Law of *Nature*, were a Law to themſelves, their thoughts either Accuſing or Excuſing them, as they acted according to the beſt of their knowledg and full *Perſwaſion*. But this Judgment is only *Private*, and has nothing to do with any other Perſon. *Haſt thou Faith, have it to thy ſelf; who art thou that Judgeſt another? Happy is he that Condemneth not himſelf in that which he alloweth.* This is the *Error* of our Times, men will make their *Private perſwaſions* Judges of all other men, and impoſe their *Private Opinions* as matters of *Faith*, neceſſary to Salvation. Againſt which the whole Scope of that whole *14th.* Chapter to the *Romans* is deſigned.

But there is alſo another *Private Judg*, whom God has appointed, with Reference to things both of *Private* and Publique Concern, and that is *Conſcience*; the Rule of *Conſcience* is the Scripture, the meaſure of *Conſcience* is the certainty of Knowledg, and the Judgment of *Conſcience* is the determination of the Mind, and the Direction of our Practice according to it. For thus I and every man *Judges*; I therefore believe the *Articles* of the Chriſtian Faith, that I am to do good to All men, to be Obedient to *God*, and my Lawful Superiors, to live Righteouſly, ſoberly, and *Godly* in this preſent *World*; becauſe

I certainly know that these things are by *God* commanded in *Scripture*, and whatever is not so in plain Words or Consequence, is only matter of *Opinion* and not of *Conscience*. Certainty of Knowledg, being of the Essence of *Conscience*, as Probability is of the Essence of *Opinion*.

But Secondly, In regard this very *Rule* is, in things of Publique Doubt and Concern, in some things *Dubious*, such as is the Controversie about Government: And since the *Holy Oracles* may seem to admit of Diverse interpretations, so that what satisfies one mans Judgment, is quite *Opposite* and contrary to another: We must inquire who are to be *Judges* and Interpreters of the *Rule* in these *Publique* Affairs? For that there must be some Judg or Judges, is plain, because *God* commands *Unity* and Obedience, but these cannot be obtained without men be determined What and Whom to Obey.

2 *Pet.*1.20. 2 *Pet.*3.16. St. *Peter* informs us, That it is not the Duty of *Private* men, *For no Scripture is of private Interpretation*, and shews us the danger: Notwithstanding which, bold men will venture at it, as St. *Hierom* says of his days, *Scripturarum Ars est, quam passim omnes sibi vendicant, hanc Garrula anus, hanc delirus Senex, hanc Sophista verbosus, hanc universi presumunt, lacerant, docent antequam discant.* It seems in his time, all people

Hier. Ep. ad Paulinum.

people read the Scriptures. For every prating Old Woman, and Doating Old Man, every Wrangling wordy Sophister, challenges and presumes to tear the *Scriptures* in pieces, and to teach others before they have learnt themselves. Whereas these ἀμαθεῖς & ἀστήρικτοι, as Saint *Peter* calls them, Unlearned, ungrounded People ought first to Learn. But of whom? There is but this Choice, either this Power is in the People, or in the Governors of the Church.

It cannot be in the *People*, for they are *Private* Persons, and are incapacitated by being so, to perform this *Publique Office*, for what no one can do singly, neither can all do Collectively; what every man wants, all must: For if every man in the World had but one Eye, all the World must want two. And the People are to Obey in Learning, and therefore not to *Rule* in Teaching: Neither would it be possible to come to any Determination in any thing; it being impossible to find all the People of one *Nation*, *City*, Village, or Family; Nay, even one Person of the same mind, for any continuance of Time; and by consequence, all Religion must stagger and totter with continual Changes, Uncertainties, and Alterations, and at last fall to Ruine and Confusion: Which Great Truth forced even *Calvin* himself to drop

this *Oracle*, ſo contrary to the Pretences of his now Followers, who would have the Fences of Government, which incloſes *Gods Vineyard*, thrown down, and all laid Common by *Tolleration and Liberty of Conſcience*: *Quantarum Rixarum* (ſaith he) *ſemen futura ſit Earum Rerum Confuſio; ſi prout cuique libitum ſit, mutare liceat quæ ad communem Statum pertinent? Quando nunquam futurum eſt ut omnibus idem placeat, ſi res velut in medio Poſitæ ſingulorum arbitrio relictæ fuerint. Si penes ſingulos jus & Arbitrium erit Judicandi, nihil unquam certi conſtitui Poterit: Quin potius tota vacillabit Religio.* Of how many and great Quarrels would ſuch Confuſion be the *Nurſery*; If it ſhall be Lawful for every man according to his *Pleaſure*, to change thoſe things which belong to the Common *State* of Chriſtianity: Since it can never be poſſible that the ſame thing ſhould pleaſe all, ſo long as indifferent things are left to be determined according to every mans *Arbitrary* Pleaſure: And if the Power and Right, the Liberty of Judging *Arbitrarily*, be left to the pleaſure of *All*, nothing of certainty can ever be Eſtabliſhed; but rather all *Religion* will totter and tumble down.

Cal. Inſt. lib. 4. c. 10. Sect. 31.

THE *Scripture* muſt be Interpreted, and is not of *Private* Interpretation, what remains, but that it is of *Publique*. God com-

commands *Unity*, but in doing so he would command an *Impossibility*, if he had not appointed *Means* to obtain it; to whom then can this Power be delegated to draw all mens private *Opinions* into one Common *Rule* for Practice, but to the Governors of the Church, which all shall be bound to observe for the obtaining Peace and *Unity*. I have already proved who are those Governors, who by the Appointment of the *Holy Ghost* are to Rule, to feed the Flock of *Christ*, to Watch over mens Souls, as they that must give an Account, to Rebuke, Exhort, with all long suffering, but not with suffering always; for if Seducers will persist in subverting houses, and vain talking, then by proceeding to stopping their Mouths; that so they may *study to approve themselves unto God, Workmen that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth.* And the Temporal Power of the *Civil* Magistrate may assist the Spiritual to bring men to Peace, Unity, and Obedience to these their Guides and Governors, by being a Terror to Evil doers, and Encouragement to those who do well, which is both the *Will* and the *Word of God.*

I know it will be Objected, That these *Intepreters* of *Scripture*, and Judges of Controversies may *Err*, and be deceived, *Bishops* may Err, *Counsels* have Erred,

and therefore this leaves us ſtill in an Uncertainty, ſince it is poſſible that we may be miſled by them; and how ſhall we be certain they do not *Err*, or we in following them? and wherein is it Lawful to refuſe to *Obey* them?

To this I anſwer, That the *Qualification* of ſuch a *Guide* and Interpreter of *Scripture* as we are to expect, is not ſuch a one as cannot *Err*, but ſuch a one as does not Err; for had *God* left us ſuch a *Guide*, beſides his own Word and Will, there would have been a ſtate of *Perfection* attainable in this Life, and by conſequence an Immortality, and no neceſſity of his *Divine* aſſiſtance to keep us by his mighty Power from falling through Faith unto Eternal Salvation; ſuch a *Guide* muſt have been *a God, Omniſcient Omnipotent, and Omnipreſent*; which is as unreaſonable to believe as to expect from any or all *Mortal* Men. And beſides, it is a vain and frivolous *Objection*, for thoſe who are under any Lawful Government to run into the moſt dangerous *Errors*, and manifeſt breach of *Gods* Command, by *Schiſm* and Diſobedience to the Laws of Men, for fear of imaginary danger of future *Errors*; which if they ſhall really happen, we have a plain and eaſy remedy againſt them, if we know them to be ſuch; and that is in our own perſons to proteſt againſt them, and

to

to refuſe to Joyn with thoſe that hold them; and if we know them not to be ſo, though we be in *Error* (as who lives that does not *Err?*) they will do us no injury, for it is obſtinacy in *Error*, and not bare *Error* of ignorant frailty that is damnable: but we can have no *Plea* or Excuſe to make to *God* Almighty for our *Error* of Separation, breach of *Unity*, Peace, Order, Communion, Diviſion from a Church not yet convicted of any manifeſt *Error* either in *Doctrine* or *Practice*, which is the Caſe between Diſſenters and the Church of *England*. And beſides, every *Error* in Circumſtantials which does not deſtroy *Faith* or a good Life, is not a ſufficient and warrantable Cauſe for any private Man to throw off all Subjection to his Superiors; for if it were, there could be no ſuch thing as a *Catholique* Church, or *Communion of Saints*, there being no particular Men, or any *Society* of Men without *Sins*, and by conſequence not without *Errors*, both in Doctrine and Practice.

But Secondly, The Governours of the Church neither do nor can *Err* in point of Faith and Doctrine, or Diſcipline and Government, ſo long as they follow the *Rule* of the Scriptures in Caſes plain and clear, as before I ſhewed the Matters of *Faith* eſſentially neceſſary to Salvation are. Nor

ſo long as they *Judge* of ſuch as are dubious, according to their *Catholiqueneſs*, in the Eſteem of all Ages of the Church, for no Error was ever Univerſal. And though they may be miſtaken, yet do they not *Err*, if in *Interpretation* of the more difficult and obſcure places of *Scripture*, they indeavour to Expound the meaning of them by others which are more clear and perſpicuous, following the received ſenſe of them acknowledged ſo by the *Univerſal Church*; ſo long as in thoſe Interpretations there can be nothing repugnant to the Common *Faith* of Chriſtians, or prejudicial to *Peace*, *Charity* and *Practical Piety*. Neither can they *Err* as to the point of Diſcipline, and the External *Polity* of the Church, if in indifferent things in their own *Natures*, and not Eſſentially neceſſary to Salvation, they do not impoſe them as ſuch; if they follow the Direction of the General Rules of the *Holy Canon*, that every thing be done with reſpect to Decency, Order, Edification, for the avoiding Confuſion, and obtaining Peace, Unity, and Chriſtian Love, according to the *Examples* of the beſt *Chriſtians* in former *Ages* in the Church; and the *Canons* of ſuch General *Counſels* as are not found manifeſtly Guilty of *Partiality* and Corruption in the long Train of *Errors*, which the Indeavouring to Erect the Primacy into a Supremacy,

premacy, and the Supremacy into a *Monarchy*, has brought into the *Roman Church*.

THIRDLY, If the Governors of the *Church* Impose any thing contrary to Scripture, Faith, or Holy Life, then do they forsake the *Rule*, and it is Lawful and Necessary for every good Christian to forsake them; for so is St. *Paul*'s Rule, *Be ye followers of me, as I am of God.* And praises them for observing the Commandments delivered to them by God. But if they fall from the Faith, as did the *Gnosticks*, the *Manichees*, the *Arrians*, and many others, we are not then to be Followers of them, but *Followers of God, as Dear Children.* But if any Private man, or many, shall think, because in some things which are contrary to their apprehension, that therefore the Determinations are against *Scripture*, and therefore their Obedience not due, it is a mistake, for they must be certain, otherwise they are bound to be subject; for if they be not certain, and from the best Grounds and clear Evidences, it is but their *Opinion*, which cannot weigh enough in the Scale of Truth, to warrant their Disobedience against the Publique *Opinion* of their Superiors, but that such a Disobedience will be a certain *Sin*: for if any, or many mens Private *Opinion*, 1 *Cor.* 11. 1.

nion, which is private *Interpretation*, may authorize them to renounce their Obedience to their Superiors, there can never be any ſuch thing as ſubjection in the World, nor any Government, and by good conſequence, No *Union*, no *Catholique Church*, and then no *Faith*, and in ſhort, at laſt no ſuch thing as *Religion*.

OTHERS will Object, That hereby I ſeem to introduce *Romiſh* Infallibility, and make our Biſhops *Lords* of our Faith; and that we had better ſubmit to one *Pope*, who is as free from *Error* as other Biſhops.

To this I Anſwer, That there is nothing more contrary to Senſe or Truth than ſuch an *Objection*. For I do not make, nor believe them Infallible, but the *Rule* by which they are to Govern, which is the Word of the *Infallible God*, who cannot lye or be deceived; and, I ſuppoſe, that they may act contrary to this *Rule*, and that preſumes they are not Infallible; but if they follow the *Rule*, then I ſay they cannot *Err*; and ſhould the *Pope* do ſo, all Chriſtians over whom he may Challenge a lawful Juriſdiction as their *Patriarch*, ought to ſubmit to him: But it is Evident, that the *Roman* Church does *Err*, and has Erred in many things, forſaking the *Rule*, ſetting up the Authority of the *Pope* to alter and change that

that *Rule*, by introducing new *Articles of Faith*, new Books of Scripture, and old *Traditions*, his own *Canons*, Decretals, and Councels for a *Rule*; nay, his own αὐτοψία, his Sentence and Determination for an Infallible *Rule* of Faith and Life, which is as far from me to believe of our Biſhops, as to ſay or believe it of him.

Nor does this *Juriſdiction* of Biſhops either take away that ſubordination which for convenience of Government is among them, or intrench upon the *Supremacy* of the *Civil* Magiſtrate: ſince his *Supremacy* conſiſts in a *Temporal Sovereignty*, and pretends not to any *Paſtoral Power*, but only ſuch *Kingly* and *Civil* Authority in Caſes Eccleſiaſtical, as *Conſtantine* and ſeveral other Religious *Emperors* had and Exerciſed, to whom even *Popes* as well as other *Patriarchs* yielded ſubjection; as I can make appear out of the *Epiſtles* of *Gregory* the Great to *Mauritius*, and the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians*, in a hundred places. And nothing is more plain, than that *Chriſt* himſelf owned a Subjection, as well as Commanded one to *Ceſar*.

As for the *Civil* Magiſtrate and his Power, I think nothing more Evident than the Duty all their Subjects, whether *Laicks* or Eccleſiaſticks, owe them; and that they have

have *Prescription*, the Law of *God*, *Nature*, *Nations*, and those of their own on their side, for the Defence of their Titles to their Crowns and *Scepters*; and that the Church and Faith is and ought to be their Particular *Care*, as well as it is their *Interest*, the quiet of the State ever depending in a great Measure upon the *Peace* of the Church; and that they have a *Coercive* Power, by virtue of which they may compel men to Obedience to the Laws both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*, which in conformity to the Law of *God* are to promote the *Peace*, Happiness, Unity, and Prosperity of their *People*. Nor was this Doctrine ever deni'd till the *Papacy* growing great, and the *Empire* declining, began to think of a *Temporal* as well as a *Spiritual Monarchy*, and to Unite St. *Paul*'s Sword to St. *Peter*'s *Keys*. And till the *Presbyterians* reviving the Heresy of *Aerius* and his levelling Principle, began to indeavour to set up their Spiritual *Democracy* in the Church, in order to their Erecting it also in the *State*; as the sad *Probatum* which they writ to their late deadly of the *Solemn League and Covenant* might convince us, without the dangerous necessity of a second *Experiment*. *Ictus Piscator sapit*. The burnt *Child* dreads the fire. and we have a great deal more reason to do

do ſo, than to kindle it again, and run our fingers into the *Flame*, to try whether it will burn as hot now as formerly it did.

Chap. XVII.

The CONCLUSION.

TO draw to a *Concluſion*; I think it is evident from all that any perſon can in reaſon deſire to give him Satisfaction, That the Powers and Government in this Church and *Nation* are Lawful, and of *Gods* appointment; That *Unity* in Faith, and Obedience to their Government, are the only *Expedients* to ſecure unto us Peace and *Religion*; and that if theſe be our Deſires, the other are our *Intereſt*, and ought to be our diligent indeavours and our conſtant *Practice*. It is this Unity, this Obedience that muſt make us Happy at home, and Terrible abroad; which are the only Ways to procure and Eſtabliſh a laſting *Peace* both in our Souls, in our State, in our Church, and with our Foreign *Neighbours*, who may be obliged more by our formidable *Unity* than by our feeble *Arms*, or other *Alliances*.

I would gladly know therefore of *Diſſenters*, (who, and our ſins, are the great *Obſtructors*

Obstructors of our Happiness,) Are you certain that the Government of *Bishops* is Unlawful and *Antichristian?* Can you prove that any of the Commands of the Church or *State*, are Unlawful, contrary to plain *Scripture* and Publique Interpretation? If you can, you may pretend *Conscience* for your Disobedience; but if you cannot (and I am assured it is impossible) how do you think you shall escape the dreadful and Revenging Power of the *Judg* of all men, when he shall come in flaming Fire, taking Vengeance on those that know not *God*, and obey not his *Gospel?* Flatter not your selves with the vain *Opinion* of your Sanctity: Many shall say, *Lord have not we Propheſied in thy Name?* to whom he will answer, *Depart from me ye Workers of Iniquity, for I know you not*; and well he may, for he says Positively, He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and him that sent me; is not this Disobeying the Gospel? The *Holy Ghost* says he has made Bishops, you say they are *Antichristian*; he sends them to Instruct you in the way of Righteousness, and to Watch for your Souls; you Watch for their *Ruine*, their Lives, Honors and Estates; he commands you to Esteem them highly; you despise them, contemn and Vilifie them:

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He commands you to Obey, you not only refuſe, but teach that to Obey is Damnable: He planted them among you to plant the Faith, you vow and ſwear to Extirpate *Root and Branch.* Go on and Proſper, ſaid the Falſe *Zedechiah*, with his *Horns of Iron*; but *Ahab* fell: Be not deceived, you may Mock the *Meſſengers of God*, but *God* is not to be Mocked; if you ſow the *Wind*, your ſhall reap the *Whirlwind*, the terrible Tempeſt of his Wrath and Indignation; They that lay Snares for the *Innocent*, ſhall be Enſnared in the Works of their own hands: You believe you know *God*, but in Works you deny him, for as Saint *John* ſaith of himſelf and his fellow *Apoſtles*, and of their ſucceſſors, as all lawful Biſhops are, and will be to the end of the World: *We are of God, he that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth us not: Hereby know we the Spirit of Truth and the Spirit of Error.* The *Holy* Church of *God* in all Ages (for God has a Church in all Ages according to his Promiſe) acknowledg this to be the ſenſe and Meaning of the *Scripture* which I have ſhewn; how then will you avoid this guilt with which St. *John* charges you, this ſpirit of *Error*, which he aſſures us is to be known by this *Character*, of not hearing thoſe whom *God* hath ſent? 1 *Joh.* 4. 6.

ARE

Are you certain that you are in the Right; and that all the *Saints* and *Martyrs*, Biſhops and Confeſſors who believed thus, lived and dyed in *Antichriſtian Error*, Ignorance and Superſtition; ſtrangers to theſe Divine Truths of Worſhipping God, which you pretend to have diſcovered? If you are certain, ſhew it us, that we may be ſo too: Truths of this *Nature* muſt be clear and ſhining, *Error* is dark and obſcure: If you are not certain, as it is impoſſible you ſhould, you are certainly Proud and Preſumptuous, to Deſpiſe *Dominions*, and ſpeak evil of Dignities which God has appointed in both Church and State: And if it be certain that you are in *Error*, and fight againſt God while you diſturb the *Peace* of the World, deſtroy *Charity*, Peace, and Concord, by Hatred, Strifes, Seditions, do you think that you ſhall ever ſee God, to receive the Bleſſing of the *Peace*-Makers, who ſhall be called the Children of *God?* If Biſhops be the true *Shepherds*, as is Evident from Scripture, Antiquity, *Oecumenical* Councels, and the Teſtimony of all thoſe *Martyrs*, the ſpirits of Juſt Men now made Perfect; how will you anſwer the *Chief Shepherd* and Great *Biſhop* of Souls, at his appearing, for climbing over into his Fold, for Stealing, and Killing, and

and Destroying both the Sheep and the *Shepherds*? How will you answer for all the *Blood* which has already been shed in the *Quarrel*, to maintain your *Usurpations* upon all things *Civil* and *Sacred*? For all those Injuries, Oppressions, Spoiles, Devastations, and that Sacriledge which you have been the occasion of; whilest you pretended by the Sword of Rebellion, to Erect your Government? Do you think that when God makes *Inquisition* for Blood, that he will not remember the Complaint of the Poor; the souls of so many Pious Innocents and their blood Cries like *Abels*, but above all the blood of the Royal *Martyr*, with those that St. *John* saw under the *Altar*, crye aloud, and of those who served at his *Altar* here; *Quousq; Domine? How long Lord Holy, and true, dost thou not Avenge our blood?* *Psal.* 9.

In short, either you must shew that the Government in Church and *State* are Unlawful, and that your whole Charge against them is as true as it is *Black*, or you are *Calumniators*: You must prove yours a true Church, or you are *False Accusers* of that which is; you must shew that the *Impositions* are Unlawful, or your Disobedience must be so; and you will appear to be the *Devils Factors*, and not *Gods Ministers*, whilest you preach Religion, to De-

ſtroy it; and your Diſobedience to Indifferent things will be Damnable ſin: You will be accountable not only for your own *Guilt*, but for that of all thoſe who, deceived by your *Example* and Doctrine, Glory in what is the ſhame of Chriſtianity, thinking *Reformation* conſiſts in *Ruine*, and true Religion in open *Rebellion*; and that to be a Friend of *God*, it is requiſite a man ſhould be an *Enemy* to his *Church*.

In the Name of *God* therefore, conſider ſeriouſly of theſe things; If this be true, Receive it, and Repent, if it be Falſe, ſhew it; Where? and in What? for I profeſs my ſelf as willing to embrace *Truth* from you, as deſire you ſhould receive it from me. Let not the vain ſhame of Revoking your *Opinions*, the fear of loſing the Eſteem, Flatteries, and Benevolences of your Followers, Miſlead you: *Truth* is an Excellent Companion, though never ſo *Naked*: It is better to Bluſh here, than Burn *Eternally*: Let not the hopes of the Churches *Revenue* animate you to Kill the *Heir*, that the Inheritance may be yours: *Church Lands* have not been Lucky to their *Poſſeſſors*; *Laqueus erit illi qui devorat Sacra*, ſays *Solomon*: *It is a Snare to devour Holy things.* They are *Gods Portion*; you will bring a *Snare* upon your Souls, and it may be upon your Necks,

Necks; which may ſpoyl the pleaſure of thoſe ſweet *Morſels*. And be aſſured that *God* will not forſake his Church for ever; there are Praying *Legions* in that Glorious *Army*, both in Heaven and Earth; and more are they that are with us, than they that are againſt us; our *Mountain* may be full of *Chariots* and Horſes of Fire, though you ſee them not; God will not ſuffer his Darling always to dwell among *Lions*, or to lye under the Saws and Harrows of *Iron*; *She ſhall come up out of the Wilderneſs, leaning upon her Beloved: She ſhall look forth as the Morning, fair as the Moon, clear as the Sun, and terrible as an Army with Banners*; *Tanquam acies Ordinata, with flying Colours*, in good Diſcipline and Comely Order; take Heed, leſt whileſt you think your ſelves upon *Jacobs* Ladder, climbing up to Heaven, that by fighting againſt this *Army*, you do not prove your ſelves the *Gates of Hell*, which ſhall not prevail againſt it, but will againſt you. If *God* ariſe for the *Meek* of the Earth, his *Enemies will be ſcattered, and they that hate him ſhall flee before him*, but not be able to out fly his *Vengeance*. *Ariſe O Lord God, thou and thy Ark, into thy Reſting-place*; *let thy Prieſts be cloathed with Salvation, and let thy Saints rejoyce in thy goodneſs*;

goodneſs; And let all them that wiſh and pray for the Peace of *Jeruſalem*, Proſper, and let all the People ſay, *Amen.*

FINIS.

THe Author's Abſence from the Preſs hath occaſion'd the following *Errata's*, which I hope the Candid Reader will Correct with what other Faults he finds.

Errata.

PAge 4. line 6. r. Impeſſor. p.21. l.7 for at one r. atone. p.27. l.23. r. Cardinalis. p.31. l.24. dele learn to do well. p.52. l.9. r. Stratagem. p.65. l.7 for there, r. theſe. p.94. l.ult. r. Menaces. p.128. l.2. for Honor, r. favour. p.133. l.26. r. Imprudent. p.152. l.22. for External, r. Eternal p.174. l.31. for if, r. that. p.226. l.18. r. hac nôt. p.287. l.12. r. of Age.

A Catalogue of ſome Books, Printed for, and Sold by Jonathan Edwin, *at the Three Roſes in* Ludgate-ſtreet.

THe *Commentaries* of *C. Julius Cæſar*, of his Wars in *Gallia*, and the Civil Wars betwixt him and *Pompey*, Tranſlated into Engliſh, with many excellent and judicious Obſervations thereupon; as alſo the Art of our Modern Training, or Tactick Practice; by *Clement Edmonds* Eſquire, Remembrancer of the City of *London*. Whereunto is adjoyned the Eighth *Commentary* of the Wars in *Gallia*, with ſome ſhort Obſervations upon it. Together with the Life of *Cæſar*, and an account of his Medals: Reviſed, Corrected, and Enlarged, in Fol.

The *Hiſtory* of the Reigns of *Henry* the VII. *Henry* the VIII. *Edward* the VI. and Queen *Mary*; the Firſt Written by the Right Honourable *Francis* Lord *Verulam*, Viſcount *St. Alban*, the other Three, by the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God, *Francis Godwyn*, Lord Biſhop of *Hereford*, in Fol.

The *Counteſs of Pembrokes Arcadia*, written by Sir *Philip Sidney* Knight, the Thirteenth Edition, with his Life and Death; a brief Table of the principal Heads, and ſome other new Additions, in Fol.

The *French* way of Excerciſing their Infantry, as it is now uſed in the Armies of his *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, in Fol. ſticht.

Partheniſſa, that moſt Fam'd Romance, the Six Volumes compleat, compoſed by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Orrery*, in Fol.

Fifty one Sermons, Preached by the Reverend Doctor *Mark Frank*, Maſter of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*,

Cambridge, Arch-Deacon of *St. Albans*, Prebend and Treasurer of *St. Pauls*, &c. Being a course of Sermons, beginning at *Advent*, and so continued through the Festivals; to which is added a Sermon Preached at *Pauls Cross*, in the year 1641. and then commanded to be Printed by King *Charles* the First, in Fol.

The Common Prayer Book in Folio, in *Welch*, &c.

Two Sermons Preach't at the Funerals of the Right Honourable *Robert* Lord *Lexington*, and the Lady *Mary* his Wife; by *Samuel Holden* A. M. late of *Lincoln* Colledge in *Oxford*, and Chaplain to his Lordship, Deceased, in Quarto.

Christian Ethicks, or Divine Morality, opening the way to Blessedness by the Rules of Vertue and Reason, by *Thomas Trahern*, *B. D.* in Octav.

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The Campariſon of Plato *and* Aristotle, with the Opinions of the Fathers on their Doctrines, and some Christian Reflections; together with judgment on *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, as also on *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, and *Petronius*, in Octav.

Observations on the Poems of Homer, *and* Virgil: A Discourse representing the Excellencies of those Works; and the Perfections in general of all Heroick Actions, in Octav.

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Songs and Poems, by *Thomas Flatman*, the Second Edition, in Octav.

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The *Countermine*; or, A short but true Discovery of the Dangerous Principles and Secret Practices of the Dissenting Party, Especially the *Presbyterians*: Shewing that Religion is Pretended, but Rebellion is Intended. And in order thereto, The Foundation of Monarchy in the State, and Episcopacy in the Church are Undermined.

The Common Interest of King and People: shewing the Original, Antiquity, and Excellency of Monarchy compared with Aristocracy and Democracy, and particularly of our English Monarchy: and that Absolute Papal and Presbyterian Popular Supremacy, are utterly inconsistent with Prerogative, Property and Liberty.

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